

**MAKING IT: INSIDE PERCEPTIONS ON SUCCESS, RELAPSE, AND
RECIDIVISM BY IN PRISON THERAPEUTIC TREATMENT COMMUNITY
(IPTC) PROGRAM PAROLEES IN HARRIS COUNTY TEXAS**

A Dissertation

by

MICHAEL BRUCE HALL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2003

Major Subject: Educational Human Resource Development

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ABSTRACT

Making It: Inside Perceptions on Success, Relapse, and Recidivism
by In Prison Therapeutic Treatment Community (IPTC) Program Parolees
in Harris County Texas. (August 2003)

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The purpose of this research study was to address the gap in the research literature that existed concerning the absence of qualitative data addressing relapse and recidivism in Texas. Numerous quantitative studies dealt with these issues. However, gaps in the literature existed because accounts and opinions of specific participants regarding these conclusions were absent. Consequently, we lacked specific direction. The perspective of the individual, the insider, was missing. This study helped determine the meaning of “making it” for the parolee/addict attempting to assimilate into the general population and avoid relapse and recidivism.

To achieve the research objectives, an ethnographic interview methodology was utilized. The population engaged in the study included male parolees who live in Harris County Texas. All men gained parole between 1992 and 1994, hold positions as professionals in substance abuse counseling, and reported ten years or more of drug free and crime free living.

The literature review established the documented need and importance for a qualitative study. The literature defined recidivism according to Texas state officials. The literature considered achievement of parolees who attended the Windham School District. The final section of literature considered the development and operation of the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program.

The findings from the interviews determined that “making it” consisted of working the twelve-step program of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), meeting with parole officers, dealing with risky behaviors, and remaining committed to a drug free and crime free life. Study participants expressed that state record keeping appeared inaccurate and presented a false picture regarding the actual number of drug related arrests and the actual long-term recidivism rate. The participants noted that the Windham School District exhibited a major influence in making a conscious decision to turn toward positive outcomes.

It was recommended that the role of the Windham School District be expanded due to the record of achievement. Other recommendations included the establishment of a longitudinal study of Texas parolees to exceed five years in duration to check long-term recidivism rates and an ethnographic study that focused on the members of the Winner’s Circle.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated my wife, Beth, who supported me and persevered with me over the years, and to my son, Michael, who inspires me as he completes his undergraduate degree.

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For their advice and support, I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to the members of my committee, Dr. Walter F. Stenning, Dr. David Erlandson, Dr. Kenneth E. Paprock, and Dr. Don F. Seaman. I wish to give special thanks and appreciation to Dr. Walter F. Stenning, who served as my committee chair, and provided personal and professional guidance and encouragement throughout my graduate school experience at Texas A&M University. I also wish to extend profound thanks to Dr. David Erlandson, who provided professional direction and insight into the ethnographic interview as well as inspiration.

I express my gratitude to the rest of my family for their years of interest and support during my quest for the Grail.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sources in academe and the criminal Justice system documented conditions related to incarceration and recidivism among the released Texas parolee populations for several years. This involves the study of the precarious circumstances that encompass the lives of the Texas male offender prior to incarceration, during incarceration, and upon parole.

Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) and Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) provide demographic reports dealing with recidivism and factors associated with high and low risk inmates. Race proved a minor factor in recidivism, while sex emerged as a major factor: After one year from release only 6% of female parolees, recidivated compared with 15% of males parolees. (Eisenberg, 1991). The same report cited age as a major factor and contrasted younger and older sets of inmates: 22% of offenders ages 18-22 recidivated within a year, while only 12% of inmates ages 18-22 recidivated during the same period (Eisenberg, 1991).

Education impacted recidivism rates for inmates according to CJPC and TDJC data. A 1996 CJPC report indicated inmates that earned GED degrees through the Windham School District reported a 25% recidivism rate while non-participating inmates reported a 37% recidivism rate (Fabelo, 1996, January).

This dissertation follows the style and format of the *American Educational Research Journal*.

Inmates with higher education levels also generally had lower recidivism rates.

Texas sources concurred that offenders convicted for crimes of property and drug possession record the highest recidivism rates (Bryan, 1996, May). This and other significant factors remain constant when describing the "high risk" and "successful" profiles. Age of the inmate, type of incarceration offense, post-release employment, and wages earned, impact recidivism (Eisenberg and Martinez, 2000, August). The validity and reliability of these findings were confirmed by a decade of TDCJ, CJPC, and Texas State, Federal, and, independent reports.

Statement of the Problem

An abundance of literature exists documenting the rise in recidivism rates in the 1990s, the high-risk variables associated with high recidivism rates, as well as documentation of factors (such as educational achievement) that served to abate recidivism rates. These quantitative accounts presented a powerful argument to do something; but it was less clear exactly what should be done with this information. There were gaps in the literature because accounts and opinions of specific participants regarding these conclusions were absent. Consequently, we lacked specific direction. The perspective of the individual, the insider, was missing.

A great deal of literature exists regarding the impact made by education on inmates and parolees. Current literature was documented by organizations such as TDCJ and CJPC. Documentation involved statistical reporting primarily of recidivism rates and other criteria. By contrast, the opinions and experiences of individual parolees regarding education during or after incarceration were not available in the literature.

Thus, evaluation of programs and outcomes by individual participants was not investigated.

State agencies such as TDCJ and CJPC rely on quantitative research. The ends of their research are used to interpret positive or negative outcomes of annual program findings primarily through observing increases or decreases in recidivism rates (how many recidivated and when). However, the success and outcomes concerning recidivism as viewed by individuals was not reported. We possessed little specific information about why some recidivate and others do not.

The results of the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program are statistically documented, but there was a lack of qualitative research considering the experiences and evaluations of the program by parolees that participated in the (IPTC). That included the critical evaluation of the IPTC program, contributions made by parolees to the program, and feedback from parolees on quantitative reports released by state agencies such as TDCJ, CJPC and the Windhan School District. The study, by using selective informants, addressed the issues raised in the survey of research literature. These gaps in the literature were addressed in the form of several unanswered questions.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to address the gaps in research literature that exist in the field of knowledge by providing information from an "inside" angle of vision through the parolee view of selected topics. Parolees provided insight on the roles they played in the development of the early IPTC program. These personal accounts provided

critical evaluation explicating factors and conditions that contribute to relapse and recidivism. Parolees detailed the impact made on their lives by adult education offered during and after incarceration. These parolees provided their perspective of the early results of the IPTC program and reaction to CJPC report - *Three year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs* (Fabelo, Criminal Justice Policy Committee, March 1999). Also, these insiders provided feedback to critique the effects of policies and practices of organizations such as IPTC, SAFP, TDCJ, and TCADA, upon the operation of half way houses. Finally, participants reported how they “make it” on the outside for several years. This critique will provide information helpful to address the educational needs of offenders and parolees seeking rehabilitation.

Significance of the Study

The Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) houses the nation’s largest prison population as of 1999. During this period the Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) reported falling recidivism rates in the state of Texas. CJPC reports and TDCJ reports also pointed at lower recidivism rates for drug offenders. The study, through the use of ethnographic methodology, explored beyond these state reported findings. Parolee graduates of the In Prison Therapeutic Community program gave accounts of relapse and recidivism that exceeded 90%. These parolees discounted the accuracy of the CJPC reports and called for longitudinal studies up to ten years. TCCJ tracks recidivism for a three year maximum.

This study also produced suggestions regarding an expanded role for the Windham School District. The literature supported and affirmed Windham’s

ability to achieve learning. This learning was connected to making a conscious chance and turn toward reform according to the participants in the study.

Research Questions

Based upon a comprehensive literature review and upon qualitative considerations, the following research questions were developed to accomplish the purpose of the study:

1. To what degree did parolees of the 1992-93 IPTC program participate as contributors to the IPTC program?

2. As members of the treatment community, how do LCDC graduates of the 1992-93 IPTC program evaluate results of official reports (*Three year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs* by Fabelo, March 1999) in explaining high recidivism and relapse rates?

3. To what circumstances do parolees from the IPTC program (1992-93) attribute their achievement?

4. How do parolees who are members of the treatment community describe the relationship between half-way houses and Texas State agencies such as TDCJ and TCADA?

5. How do parolees value adult and continuing education programs (both during and after incarceration) as vehicle to increase chances for rehabilitation?

Definition of Terms

Adult Arrest Rate - The number of adult (age 17 and over) arrests per 100,000 adult population.” (Fabelo, November 1999. p.1)

Board of Pardons and Paroles - an eighteen member board appointed by the Governor to make decisions concerning Parole / Mandatory Supervision releases, revocations, and executive clemency. (Fabelo, November 1999, p.1)

Crime Rate - “The number of Index Crimes reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation per 1000,000 of the total state population.” (Fabelo, November 1999, p. 2)

Disease Concept - “By definition, disease is ‘an alteration of a living body that impairs its functioning’ (Webster, 1977); thus, such severe alteration of body functioning occurs only in a drinker who is physically addicted to alcohol.” (Ellis, C. D., Lawson, W.L., & Rivers, P. C., 1984, p.195)

In-Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) - “The IPTC is a 9 to 12 month in-prison intensive treatment program for substance abusing offenders in TDCJ-ID which utilizes a therapeutic community approach .” (Eisenberg, 2001a, p.5)

Licensed Chemical Dependency Counselor (LCDC) - “The Texas Occupations Code, 504, states that the scope of practice for the licensed chemical dependency counselor (LCDC) is the provision of ‘chemical dependency counseling services involving the application of principles, methods, and procedures of the chemical dependency profession.’” (Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, 2002b, p.1)

Parole Approval Rate - “The percentage of parole approvals out of the number of cases considered for parole.” (Fabelo, November 1999, p. 4)

Recidivism Rate - “The percentage of offenders released from prison or an alternative to incarceration program that were reincarcerated after a specified period of time.” (Fabelo, November 1999, p.5)

Recovering - “Recovered does not mean cured in the sense that chemically dependent people can ever use alcohol or other mood-altering drugs again. For this reason some prefer the term *recovering* to remind themselves that they must always avoid that first drink or other drug.” (Bissell, L., & Royce, J., 1987, p.4)

Rehabilitation Tier Program - “In 1996 the Senate Interim Committee on Criminal Justice recommended that the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) develop a tier of rehabilitation programs designed to integrate treatment services to rehabilitate offenders and be accountable for reducing recidivism.” (Eisenberg, 2001a, p.3)

Residential Services - “TCADA categorizes treatment programs by frequency and intensity of services provided, as well as by targeted population. Both residential and outpatient settings help clients to examine the impact substance abuse has on their lives and develop the skills necessary to achieve and maintain recovery.” (Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, 2002a, p.14)

Substance Abuse Felony Punishment (SAFP) - “The SAFP program is the largest, most extensive, and most expensive substance abuse treatment program the state of Texas provides for felony probationers. Probationers spend 9-12 months in a

secure treatment facility staffed by correctional officers of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ).” (Eisenberg, 2001b, p.3)

Substance Abuse Treatment Facility - “A substance abuse treatment facility (SATF) is a residential community corrections facility designed specifically to deal with offenders who have substance abuse problems.” (Texas Department of Criminal Justice - Community Justice Assistance Division, March 1999, p.1)

The Program (Twelve-Step Program) - “Some counselors attempt to demonstrate their skills in the core function of counseling by referencing the 12-step work of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). AA is a support group that many believe is important (or essential) for recovery from substance addiction.” (Herdman, 1997, p.46)

Assumptions

The following assumptions about this study were made:

1. Respondents answered the questions posed to them in a truthfull and honest manner.
2. Interviews took place in a number of settings.
3. The researcher reserved the privilege to expand the list of informants based on methodology.

Limitations

The following limitations to this study were recognized:

1. The scope of perception was limited to parolees in the correctional rehabilitation field and others associated in that field.
2. The study dealt with participants in Harris County, Texas.

3. The timeframe for each subject ran from birth to present. In some cases this include information regarding previous generations.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into five chapters and supporting appendices. It documents the results of an ethnographic study that involved parolee graduates of the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program. The study solicites thier impression on why they “made it” in society and why an incredibly high number of their peers recidivated.

Chapter I is an introductory chapter which explains the problem, purpose and significance of the study, provides a definition of terms, lists the assumptions and limitations under which the research was conducted. Chapter II contains a review of the literature relevant to the study. The literature review has three main purposes: 1) to document the impact of recidivism rates in Texas in the 1990s to present, 2) provide an overview of the impact made in assisting offenders and parolees by institutional education in general and by the Windham School System in particular, 3) the development and progress of the In Prison Therapeutic Community program (IPTC) regarding substance abuse and recidivism. The following chapter, chapter III, provides information concerning the methodology utilized when conducting the research study. Topics in this chapter include the population studied, procedures used in the development of the ethnographic interview, data collection and analysis procedures. Chapter IV deals with the findings of the research and analysis and is presented in the form of portraiture. The first section of this chapter is presented in three narratives: Doc Holiday, Wyatt

Earp, and Dutch Hoffmeyer. The last part of the chapter involved the development of summary portraits,

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review served three purposes: 1.) to define the parameters of recidivism and examine recent trends of recidivism rate shifts in Texas and the United States, 2.) to provide an overview of the impact made in assisting offenders and parolees by institutional education in general and by the Windham School System in particular, 3.) to review the history and explore the development and effectiveness of the In Prison Therapeutic Treatment Community (IPTC) program from 1991 through 1995 to review the role of the effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation substance abuse treatment programs.

The Impact of Recidivism Rates in the Texas

This section of the literature review addresses the documented basis for recidivism rates for Texas. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) and the Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) produced reports in order to expand the body of knowledge utilized in the parole selection process, to aid in the effectiveness and accuracy of parole decisions, and to provide information to Texas lawmakers.

From random sampling, a pattern of variables emerged including race, sex, criminal history, crime by category, prior employment history, age at release, and family history. Drug abuse, alcohol abuse, and drug and alcohol abuse gains scrutiny. "This group (drug and alcohol abuse) had the highest return to T.D.C. rate of the group (24%), which was more than double the rate for those indicating no drug/alcohol problems (11%)"

(Eisenberg, 1991 p.69). In addition, the study produced a strong link between educational achievement and lower recidivism rates.

The CJPC released *Recidivism as a performance measure: The record so far* in January 1996. The study dealt with recidivism as a measure of performance of the IPTC program, Project RIO, Windham GED Education program, Boot Camp program, and other programs for alternatives to incarceration and special programs for the mentally impaired. The staff provided defined recidivism and recidivism rate:

- Recidivism: A re-occurrence of criminal behavior.
- Recidivism rate: Determined by proportion of all offenders placed under supervision including those re-arrested or re-incarcerated within a specified follow-up period, usually three years. (Fabelo, 1996, January, p.1)

The procedures of the study involved matching study groups with comparison groups (usually an equal number of non-participants or group dropouts). Regardless, numbers between study groups and their corresponding comparison group seldom matched.

The IPTC program performed well in the study. The comparison group included 395 non-participants that recidivated at 19% within twelve months. Those 279 participants that completed the IPTC program recidivated at 7% while 393 program dropouts recidivated at 19% within a twelve-month period. The study concluded that findings were significant.

The Boot Camp program also performed well in the study. Within a twenty-four month period 115 non-participants recidivated at 17% while 330 program participants recidivated at 11%. The conclusion found the results significant.

Windham School District reported the data in this study. The study group involved inmates who earned their GED while in TDCJ through Windham School District. The comparison group involved non-participants. Twenty-five percent of the GED earners recidivated over a 30-36 month period of release. Thirty-seven percent of the non-participants recidivated over the same period. The statistical significance of this section of the study remained unreported due to the failure of WSD officials to include the specified numbers existing within each group along with the data.

The report concluded that vast numbers of inmates refused to seek treatment or participate in programs. Roughly 60% of the prison population chose not to enroll in Project RIO. “More than 80% of offenders eligible to earn a GED (in 1991 TDCJ-Windham Study) did not because of lack of motivation, ability, or time in prison” (Fabelo, 1996, p.6)

In September 2000, Fabelo delivered *Update in statewide recidivism rates of offenders released from Texas prisons*, a CJPC study, to the state legislature. Again the CJPC attempted to provide clarification regarding the issue of recidivism by defining the term:

- Reoccurrence of criminal behavior over a uniform “street time” period
- Re-incarceration in prison or state jail as main indicator of criminal behavior

(Fabelo, T. 2000, September, p. 1).

This definition makes no mention of incarceration in county or municipal jails.

The population studied included inmates released from 1986-1997. The focus of study documented and presented recidivism rates at two and three year tracking periods.

Texas recidivism rates recorded impressive drops. “Three years after release, 30.7% of the offenders released in 1997 were reincarcerated compared to 49.1% of offenders released in 1992 and 35.4% of the offenders released in 1995” (Fabelo, et.al p.2).

Type of offense showed decline according to results of two year tracking periods. Offenders with violent offenses recidivated at 40% in 1992. In 1997 offenders with violent offenses posted recidivism at 20%. This constituted a -50% change. Offenders with property offenses recidivated at 46% two years after release in 1992. Offenders with property offenses recidivated at 24% two years after their 1997 release. This represented a -47% change rate from 1992 to 1997 release dates. The Offenders with drug offenses recidivated at 36% two years after their time of release in 1992. Two years after their release in 1997, offenders with drug offenses posted a recidivism rate at 19%. This represented a -47% change in rate.

This study offers an interesting and positive look at falling recidivism rates. It fails to explain recidivism rates leveled off between offenders with violent offences (20%), offenders with property offenses (24%), and offenders with drug offenses. How many inmates does this constitute in each group? How many are violent and how many are nonviolent?

The TDCJ, CJCP, and the Federal Criminal Justice System produced studies yielding increased recidivism rates beginning in the early 1990s. New laws passed during this period influenced the rise in recidivism rates. Legislation included tougher drug laws, “three strike laws,” and the stiffening of the parole code. After tracking released inmates for thirty-six months, recidivism rates rose from 11.4% of prisoners released in 1987 to

18.6% of prisoners released in 1994. "Of the 33,885 offenders who returned to prison between 1986 and 1997, 60% violated their conditions of supervision; 30% returned following a conviction for a new offense, and 10 % returned for new violations" (Sabol, Adams, Parthasarathy, & Yuan, 2000, September, p.5). Only race and crime by offense variables did not concur with the Texas findings.

However, the Texas recidivism rate rose and then dropped from 1986-1997 based on 36-month follow up studies (consequently the Texas prison population dramatically increased during this same period). "Three years after release, 30.7% of the offenders released in 1997 were re-incarcerated compared to 49.1% of offenders released in 1992 and 35.4% of offenders released in 1995" (Fabelo, 2000, September, p.2). This constituted -37.4 difference in the recidivism rate between 1992-97 and a -13.2% difference in the recidivism rate between 1995-97.

In an October 2000 article, *Texas tough?: An analysis of incarceration and crime trends in the lone star state*, Schiraldi, and Zeidenberg revealed alarming findings regarding Texas criminal justice based on Bureau of Justice, TDCJ, CJPC, and FBI data. The population they studied included all those consigned to Texas state prisons, state jails, county and municipal jails, SAFP, parole, and probation.

For example, "since 1990, nearly one out of every five new prisoners added to the nation's prisons (18%) was in Texas (Schiraldi, & Zeidenberg, 2000, October, p.3). By August 2000, Texas passed California to possess the nation's largest prison population: 706,600 inmates (a population larger than the population of Alaska, Vermont, Washington, D.C., or Wyoming.

The study produced chilling results from an examination of the Texas prison population. Alarming results continued. In 1998, TDCJ reported that 54.8% of its prisoners were considered non-violent. The Texas non-violent prisoner population alone established the state in second place in total prison population. “Of the almost 37,000 inmates entering the Texas prison population in 1998, more than *two out of every three entered prison on a parole or probation violation*” (Schriraldi & Zeidenberg, 2000, October, p.5). Twenty-one percent of the prison population represented drug offenders in 1998. “While a large number on its own, the 21% figure underestimates the role drug incarceration policies played in driving up the prison population totals, as it does not include people serving time for drug related crimes such as theft of burglary” (Schriraldi & Zeidenberg, 2000, October, p.6).

The article examined statistics and reported that the application of Texas justice appeared harsher to some groups than others. While one out of twenty adult Texans received some form of correctional supervision, one out of three African Americans represented that same group. The incarceration of African Americans in Texas posted rates seven times greater than the rates of whites. African Americans represent 12% of the Texas population and comprise 44% of the jail and prison population. In addition, Whites represent 58% of the Texas population and make up 30% of the prison population. African Americans received probated sentences at 20.6% compared to Whites at 44.9%. “Blacks form only 26.7% of the Substance Abuse Felony Prevention Program (SAFP), a drug treatment program that can be court mandated by judges for convicted felons instead of prison” (Schriraldi & Zeidenberg, 2000, October, p.7). Whites comprised 43.1% of the SAFP population. Table 1 provides a summary on research on results of recidivism.

Table 1

Summary of Research on Results of Recidivism

Author Study	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Population	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Beck, A.J. & Shipley, B.E. (1989, April). <i>Recidivism of prisoners released in 1983</i> . Bureau of Statistics, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.	Qualitative Rearrest Conviction Reincarceration	16,000 Fed. prisoners from 11 states	3 years 1983- 1986	Rearrested for felony or serious misdemeanor within three years: 62.5% - total 61.9% - less than 8 th grade education (19.3% of total population) 57.4% - high school graduates (25.8% of total population) 51.9% - some college (6.8% of total population)
Bryan, B. (1996, May) <i>Recidivism of offenders in community corrections: The record so far</i> . Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council	1. Examines supervision of first time felons in communities 2. Parole, deferred adjudication	58,266 total offenders Drug offenders Property offenders Violent offenders Sex offenders DWI offenders	1991 sentence 3 years	Total of 27,748 in community corrections Deferred adjudication: 14,979 (54%) Probated sentence: 12,769 (46%) 37% recidivated 3 yrs - probation 26% recidivated 3 yrs - deferred adjudication 40% fail in first year Drug offender highest recidivism (41%) Property offenders recidivism (40%) Violent crime offenders recidivism (34%)
Eisenberg, M. (2003) <i>The second biennial report on the performance of criminal justice re-habilitation tier programs</i> . Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council	Report draws from extensive data base to report performance on criminal justice programs: 1. In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) 2. Substance Abuse Felony Punishment (SAFP) 3. Pre-Release Therapeutic Community (PRTC) 4. Sex Offender Treatment Program (SOTP) 5. InnerChange Freedom Initiative (ITI)	Gives numbers and percent of study groups and comparison groups	2+4 years 2002 2004	Total numbers for two year tracked Stud group Comparison Group IPTC 1,600 1,995 SAFP 7,869 1,554 PRSAP 2,267 2,855 SOTP 1,568 2,118 ITI 177 1,754 IPTC Group: Arrested Re-incarcerated -Completed 13.8% 5.0% -Not completed 38.5% 24.3% -All participants 22.9% 12.1% Comparison group 38.3% 22.5%

Table 1 Continued

Author Study	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Population	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Fabelo, T. (1995, November) <i>What is recidivism? How do you measure it? What can it tell policy makers?</i> Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council	Informative article Provided definitions and some statistical information	Summary of recidivism rates three years after release in 1991	1994	Definition: <u>Recidivism is the reoccurrence of criminal behavior.</u> <u>The rate of recidivism: refers to the proportion of a specific group of offenders (for example parole releasees) who re-engage in criminal behavior within a given period of time</u> <u>Indicators of criminal behavior: are re-arrests, re-convictions, or re-incarcerations since unreported criminal behavior is difficult to measure. (p.1)</u>
Fabelo, T. (2002, March) <i>Recidivism rates and issues relates to TDCJ substance abuse treatment programs.</i> Austin, TX:	Examined recidivism rates two and three years from release.	1998 releasees	2 years 3 years	1. Concluded improved recidivism based on selective releases of offenders and parole intermediate sanctions. 2. IPTC recidivism rates improved due to improvements in the selection of participants and the continuum of sanctions
Harer, M.D. (1994, March). <i>Recidivism among federal prison releasees in 1987: A preliminary report.</i> Washington, D.C.: Federal Bureau of Prisons	1. Summarized study findings in 1987 and defines sources 2. Defines normalization concept and uses multivariate statistical models (MSM) to test hypothesis on normalizing effects of social furloughs and education programs 3. MSM to examines effectiveness of drug and alcohol rehab programs 4. MSM to assess predictors of recidivism 5. MSM to assess effectiveness of halfway houses 6. Summary of findings and future predictions	Federal prisoners released	1987-1990	40.8% reactivated Study provides findings in line with those released by CJPC for Texas prisons during the same period.

These sources indicated the conditions existing in the Texas justice system regarding recidivism and issues directly related to it. Sources indicated the importance placed on recidivism when justifying government programs or for proposing new programs. The quest for lower recidivism rates translated into financial savings and the CJPC emphasized that point when reports were presented to the Texas Legislature. The quest for lower recidivism rates also led to tighter parole policies. However, recidivism rates became the driving influence in correctional education in Texas, an observation made in any Windham School District information.

An Overview of the Impact Made in Assisting Offenders and Parolees by Institutional Education in General and by the Windham School District in Particular

A significant series of four studies by the Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) examined the role of the Windham School District (WSD). The first study (Eisenberg, M., February 2000) examined the operation of WSD. The following studies evaluated educational achievement of inmates (Eisenberg, M. & Martinez, A.I April 2000), appraised the preparation of students for post-release employment (June 2000), and estimated the lowering of recidivism through academic achievement of inmates (Eisenberg, M. & Martinez, A.I August 2000). "An Overview of the Windham School District" deals with the operation, departments, and legislatively established goals. The reduction of recidivism became the predominant goal for WSD. Of the 128,393 inmates 69.5% had less than a high school education, while 33% were functionally illiterate (Eisenberg, M., 2000, February p.3). Departments include Academic Literacy Programs (Adult Basic Education, Special Education & ESL, Adult Secondary Ed., Post-Secondary Education), Vocational Training

(Secondary Level Vocational Training, Apprenticeship Programs, On-the Job Training, Post-Secondary Vocational Programs), and Life Skills Training (CHANGES, Cognitive Intervention). Student placement occurred at intake by grade level last earned in school or by scores measured by the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE).

The second report, “Educational Achievement of Inmates in the Windham School District” (Eisenberg, M. & Martinez, A.I., April 2000), studies 32,020 inmates released in 1997-1998. Officials determined that the number of inmates eligible to participate in WSD adult education programs stood at 23,822. Of this number 44% (10,485) qualified as functionally illiterate (functioning on less than a 6th grade reading level). Within the functional illiterate group, 36% (3,774) qualified as nonreaders. The majority, 56% (10,485), enrolled in the GED/College path program. These inmates functioned above a 6th grade level.

Of the 23,822 eligible inmates, 68% (16,205) participated in adult education programs. Thirty percent (4,885) showed no progress. Seventy percent (11,320) demonstrated progress. Officials determined progress with earning the GED or increasing the composite TABE or reading score.

The Windham control groups posted impressive results also. Forty-six percent of the nonreaders became readers (64% entered within one EA level of “reader” classification). Forty percent of the functionally illiterate became literate (55% entered within one EA level of “literate” classification. Fifty-nine percent of the GED/College path earned the GED or attended college (46% increased no more than one EA level. Finally, 12% participated in college.

According to the of this CJPC study, considerable learning occurred in the WSD adult education programs during the 1997-1998 fiscal year.

A third report, *Impact of Educational Achievement of the Inmates in the Windham School District on Post-Release Employment*, examines the relationship between prison education programs and post-release employment. Variables remained similar with previous CJPC, TDCJ, or Bureau of Justice Statistics findings. The study used four control groups: Nonreader to Reader, Illiterate to literate, No GED to GED, and No GED/No Vocational Certificate to GED and No Vocational Certificate. Variables included Wages Earned, Employment and, Educational Instruction Hours for Achievers. "Inmates in the GED educational achievement group who completed a GED, and inmates who earned a GED with a vocational certificate, had the highest employment rates and gain in wages of the groups examined" (Eisenberg and Martinez, 2000, June, p.29).

The final report studied the relationship between educational achievement during incarceration and post-release recidivism for parolees tracked for periods of twelve, twenty-four, and thirty-six months upon release. "Younger property offenders with low educational achievement scores have the highest recidivism rate" (Eisenberg and Martinez, 2000, August p. 14). WSD officials allocated supplemental resources to support high-risk groups in order to increase literacy and attainment of GED degrees. "Recidivism rates were associated with education achievement and were not simply a function of participants' characteristics such as gender, race/ethnicity, or age" (Eisenberg and Martinez, 2000, August p. 19). In addition, achievers (inmates who reach educational program goals) tended to gain employment and higher wages than non-achievers upon release. This

translated into higher recidivism rates for educational non-achievers and lower recidivism rates for achievers. See Table 2: Summary on Research on Results of Recidivism.

Windham enjoyed strong statistical support for its work in Texas. Windham graduates who earned GED degrees yielded lower recidivism rates, longer employment periods, and earned higher wages when matched with non-participating comparison groups.

Development and Progress of the In Prison Therapeutic Community Program (IPTC) in Dealing with Substance Abuse

The Texas State Legislature established the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program in 1992. A pilot program began in 1991 at the Kyle facility operated by the Wackenhut Corrections Corporation (WCC). Formerly known as the Kyle Pre-Release Center, then renamed New Vision Chemical Dependency Treatment Facility, the facility was designated as an intensive drug treatment center. The original program included fifty volunteer offenders who qualified for drug rehabilitation and were eligible for pre-release. According to former program participants (Interview with "Wyatt Earp" Feb. 18, 2002 and "Doc Holiday" Nov. 26, 2001), only offenders identified as substance abusers were supposed to be housed at this facility.

The new role of the New Vision Center, which became operational in May 1992, is to provide an intensive habilitation effort in the field of chemical dependency treatment utilizing a nine-month "New Vision" residential chemical treatment program. "New Vision" is a three-phase treatment program that includes Orientation, Main Treatment, and Re-entry preparation, progression from one phase to another being based upon an individual's growth and treatment. Residents attend group and individual therapy sessions based on a 12-step model of recovery for alcohol and drug abuse and were also involved in academic and vocational training programs.

(Wackenhut Corrections Corporation brochure.
<http://www.wcc-coffections.com>).

Table 2

Summary of Research on Results of Correctional Education

Author Study	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Control Groups	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Anderson, D.B., & Anderson, S.L., & Schumacker, R.E. (1988) <i>Correctional education a way to stay out: Recommendations for Illinois and the Anderson study</i> Springfield, IL: Illinois Council on Vocational Education.	Qualitative Study Quantify the number of parolees (trained during incarceration) gained employment upon release.	Vocational training Vocational & academic No vocational training Academic 760 male parolees	12 months	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attempt to connect correctional education and post release employment. 2. Vocational training group and vocational and academic group reported highest employment and lowest recidivism. 3. Problem reported in study: parole officers unable to gather data 4. Outcome: parole officials appear unreliable as data collectors. 5. Suggestion: employ case study with a limited number of parolees
Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2000, March) <i>Criminal offender statistics</i> Washington, D.C.: U.S Department of Justice	Multiple qualitative reports	Male and female federal prisoners	Census to August 2000	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presents prison population with <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) number of prisons; b) total population; c) security level; d) gender; f) race; g) ethnicity; h) citizenship; i) average age; j) sentence; k) offense; l) drug offender population; m) staff gender; n) staff race/ethnicity 2. Provided information foundation and showed the extent of drug violators in federal custody. Education connected to lower recidivism rates.
Czuchry, M., Dansereanu, D.F., & Dees, S.M. (1997) Downward spiral: A pedagogical game depicting the dangers of substance abuse. <i>Journal of Drug Education</i> , 27, (4): 373-387.	Article	Sites several studies	NA	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A Monopoly-like drug addiction game was developed by the authors. 2. Claim positive response from college students and clients at treatment center.

Table 2 Continued

Author Study	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Population	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Duguid, S. (1996). Using recidivism to evaluate effectiveness in prison education programs. Washington, D.C.: <i>Journal of Correctional Education</i> , 47, (2): 74-85.	Article	Sites several studies	12 months	1. Reports growing trend to link program success with recidivism rate reduction. 2. Success in education may not correspond with movement in recidivism rates.
Eisenberg, M. (2000, February). <i>An overview of the windham school district</i> . Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council	Quantitative. Link lower recidivism, lower costs, increase parolee vocational success, model positive in-prison behavior.	1. Adult basic Ed = 58,914 2. Special Ed = 3,470 ESL = 2,236 3. Adult Secondary 6,250 took GED 4. Post-Secondary Ed 5. All male inmates	1998 12 months	1. WSD grew with prison population from 1991-1998. 2. 192,475 inmates on hand with 75,177 participating in WSD. 3. Need to explore success after release.
Eisenberg, M. & (2000, April). Martinez, A.I <i>Educational achievement of inmates in the windham school district</i> . Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council	Quantitative Analyze educational achievement	1. GED/College 2. Functionally illiterate 3. Nonreader 4. Study Group: 32,020	12 months	1. No benchmarks exist to rate adult ed. expected gain. 2. Texas Legislature performance measure for all adult ed programs: a) the percent of learners the level in which they are enrolled; b) hours of instruction per school vary per program. All take EA test to base progress. 3. 23,822 eligible; 16,205 participated; 4,885 no progress (30%); 11,320 progress (70%) 4. Post release employment?

Table 2 Continued

Study Numbers/Author	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Control Groups	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Eisenberg, M. & Martinez, A.I. (2000, June) <i>Impact of educational achievement of inmates in the windham school district on post-release employment.</i> Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council	Quantitative 1. Examine relationship between education in prison and post prison employment 2. Percent employed wages earned months employed	1. Data from: a) Windham School District b) Unemployment Wage Record data base of quarterly wages paid for unemployment insurance used c) Social security numbers used in Project RIO matched with TWC social security numbers. 2. Tracks 32,020 inmates: Non-reader, functionally illiterate, GED/college. Also vocational TABLE 2.1	1997-1998	1. Group earned GED and group earned GED and vocational certificate gained highest employment and most wages earned. 2. Nonreaders and functionally illiterate required the greatest number of instructional hours 3. Indication: the higher the educational achievement, the greater chance of employment and attainment of a higher wage level.
Eisenberg, M., & Martinez, A.I. (2000, August). <i>Impact of educational achievement of inmates in the windham school district on recidivism.</i> Austin, TX: Criminal Justice Policy Council	Quantitative Examine relationship between educational achievement and post-prison recidivism of inmates	Tracked 25,980 released 9/1/96 – 5/31/98 Study groups: a. Nonreaders to readers b. Functionally illiterate increase EA to 4.0 + c. GED path earned GED d. Eligible for vocational	1996-1998	1. Releasees with higher EA scores report lower recidivism rates. 2. Older inmates report lower EA scores and lower recidivism rates 3. Ed. achievement more strongly associated with younger releasees. 4. Young, property offenders, low EA scores yield highest recidivism rates.
Flanagan, T.J. (1994, September) <i>Prison education research project final report.</i> Sam Houston State University <i>Criminal Justice Center</i> , Huntsville, TX: Sam Houston State University	1. Review of previous studies History of TDCJ and overcrowding. 2. Rates other studies on recidivism by quality of design	NA	1991-1992	1. Indicates recidivism indicators: a. prior convictions b. age at first arrest c. employment record d. family situation e. <i>history of drug and alcohol use</i> 2. Basic adult education reduces recidivism

Table 2 Continued

Study Numbers/ Author	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Control Groups	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Imel, S. (1986) <i>Correctional education: Selected aspects: Overview</i> Columbus, OH: Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education. (Report No. ED275888) ERIC Digest. no 58. Clearinghouse No. CE045498	Introduction and discussion of correctional education: 1. administrative trends 2. Equity/legal issues 3. handicapped adult offender Education. (Report No. ED275888) 4. Vocational ed. 5. Post-secondary ed.	NA	1986	Somewhat dated. Texas dealt with issues through WSD.
Kerka, S. (1995) <i>Prison literacy programs</i> Columbus, OH: Clearinghouse corrections: on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education. (Report No. ED383859) ERIC Digest No. 159	Article providing introduction and discussion on context of prison literacy, constraints of correctional education, and what works.	Refers to groups in NALS	1994	Constraints section most interesting: 1. Most serious constraint is conflicting beliefs about goals & purpose of security, control, punishment, or rehabilitation. 2. Problem: use of recidivism as outcome measure a. No existing universal definition b. Measures law enforcement activity – not education c. Too simplistic. Societal conditions are beyond the educators control 3. What works: Programs fit to prison culture and student centered learning
Saylor, W.G., & Gaes, G.G. (1991, June). <i>Post release employment project: Summary of preliminary findings</i> Washington, D.C: Federal Bureau of Prisons	Qualitative 1. Institutional adjustment 2. Halfway house outcomes 3. Post-release outcomes	7,000 inmates with UNICOR work experience, vocational training, or apprenticeship were matched with 7,000 inmates with NO work experience	4 Years	1. No observation of academic students 2. Study group reported better institutional adjustment record than comparison group. 3. Study group reported lower rate of parole revocation than comparison group.

According to the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ), the IPTC serves as a nine to twelve month intensive pre-release treatment program for offenders identified as substance abusers. "The Board of Pardons and Paroles must vote to place qualified offenders in the modified therapeutic community program and successful graduates are then released on parole." (TDCJ brochure - available at web site:

<http://www.tdcj.state.tx.us>). The IPTC programs currently exist at the Hackberry (Gatesville, female), Henley (Dayton, female), Kyle (Kyle, male) and Estelle (Huntsville, special needs male) units. However, these programs represent greatly scaled back versions of the ones existing at Kyle and Amarillo from 1992-1994.

Within a couple months of the start-up in late 1991, the Kyle program expanded from 50 to 550 beds and the officials found themselves hard pressed to meet the challenge. As 1992 dawned the Kyle facility prepared to deal with 500 new clients deploying an inexperienced counseling staff and understaffed in light of the challenge.

This required creative programming. According to Larance Coleman (aid to Senator John V. Whitmire): "The original bill (law) specified that at the IPTC programs, in an effort to expand the numbers of inmates, proposed that treated inmates could serve as tutors (but could not have any control over any other inmates.)" (Letter from Larance Coleman, March 22, 2002) Coleman further stated: "The law considered that peer counseling is a fundamental principle of treating chemical dependency and so this inclusion as effective as well as economical."

The literature indicates rapid expansion of the program, possible staffing shortfalls, and a legislative fix to address the counselor shortage. The concerns during the 1992-1993 period manifest as the results of CJPC studies done in 1998 (Implementation of the TDCJ rehabilitation tier treatment programs: Progress report) and 1999 (Three year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs) showed high recidivism rates among the graduates of the 1993 IPTC program. CJPC monitors parolee progress at 24 and the 36 months from release.

These study groups included 1992-1993 completers, 1992-1993 non-completers, and a control group composed of qualified non-participants. Upon 36 months from release, program completers recidivated at 34%, "all participants" recidivated at 42%, and the control group also recidivated at 42%. The 1994 group yielded similar results. The control group and "all participants" recidivated at 37%. The completion group recidivated at 33%. Results were less than encouraging. This meant a 0% reduction in recidivism. The author of the study, Michael Eisenberg, suggested a need for therapeutic treatment during incarceration and any aftercare.

A Bureau Of Justice Report, (Substance Abuse and Treatment, State and Federal Prisoners, 1997), emphasizes the pervasiveness of the substance abuse problem and the prisoner involvement (completion and dropping out) of treatment programs. "An estimated 51% of all prisoners (52% of State and 34% of Federal) said they were under the influence of alcohol or drugs while they committed their current offense" (Mumola, 1999, January, p.3). Significantly, the report sheds light on previous inmate participation in drug and alcohol programs. This includes detoxification, AA,

participation in drug/alcohol rehabilitation, spending time in a residential facility, or use of maintenance drugs. "Overall 56% of State prisoners had taken part in either substance abuse treatment or other alcohol or drug programs 'in the past, and a third had enrolled in either since their admission to prison" (Mumola, 1999, January, p.9).

In a previous report documenting substance abuse and adult probationers, Mamula provides similar findings. "Half of alcohol-or drug-involved probationers said they were treated on their current sentence to probation, and about two-thirds had been treated at some time in their live" (Mumola, 1998, May, P. 11). Though both reports point toward greater recidivism possibilities, the chances for enrolling or re-enrolling in treatment programs are also indicated.

As recently as April 2002 TDCJ and the Texas Department of Alcohol and Drug Abuse (TCADA) reported that 80% of all male offenders in TDCJ were incarcerated for committing a crime while under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

Table 3 provides a summary of literature regarding the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program and substance abuse.

The IPTC program made numerous changes since its inception in 1992. The literature demonstrated continued progress on several fronts for the program. Recidivism rates continued to drop with modification like the development of better aftercare programs and sanctioning. IPTC staff learned to screen potential applicants for the treatment program. Also the completion rate increased. The program posted convincing statistical proof of accomplishment, especially with lower relapse and recidivism rates (and in Texas, that's what counts!)

Table 3

Further Research on In Prison Therapeutic Community Program (IPTC) and Substance Abuse

Author Study	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Control Groups	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Czuchry, M., & Dansereanu, D.F. (2000)	Examine impact of readiness program on probationers in therapeutic community.	500 randomly assigned to get readiness training or get standard training.	3-6 months	Probationers with readiness training rated their communities as more engaged and helpful than those who received standard training. Outcome: improved skills in treatment progress.
Drug abuse treatment in criminal justice settings: Enhancing community engagement and helpfulness. <i>American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse</i> , 25 (4): 537-552				
Hiller, M. L., Broome, K. M., Knight, K., & Simpson, D. D. (2000)	Claims self-efficacy was helpful in tobacco abstinence program. Was literature gap regarding self-efficacy and drug abuse. (Case Study)	250 probationers in six month residential treatment program	6 months	High construct validity for an alcohol abstinence self-efficacy scale based on modified DiClemente, Carbonari, Montgomery, and Hughes model. Four modified dimensions include: 1. Negative affect 2. Social/positive 3. Physical and other concerns 4. Cravings and urges
Hiller, M. L., Knight, K., & Simpson, D. (1999)	Examines early dropout problem at Dallas County Judicial Treatment Center. Multiple methodology Case study and multivariate analysis	339 felony probationers 72% male 42% black 48% white 46% never married	6 months	Background information linked specific deviant behavior with dropout tendency. 1. Cocaine use 2. History of psychiatric treatment 3. Extended periods of unemployment 4. High levels of anxiety, depression, hostility 5. Multivariate analysis indicated that scoring high on criminality index was best predictor

Table 3 Continued

Author Study	Quantitative/Qualitative Purpose of Study/Article	Control Groups	Time	Study Outcome Suggestion
Inciardi, J. A (1996) <i>A corrections-based continuum on effective drug abuse treatment</i> Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice	Examines continued treatment from prison through aftercare. Questions actual relapse rates.	Four groups: 1. comparison - no treatment 2. Key - prison-based treatment 3. Crest - treatment at work release center 4. Crest-Key - prison-based & work release treatment	6-8 months	1. At end of 6 months Key and Crest-Key yield similar rates. 2. At 6 and 18 months comparison group less likely to be drug or arrest free 3. At 18 months no statistical significance existed between Key groups and the comparison group. 4. Inciardi mentions a study that evaluated Federal Bureau of Prisons drug treatment program. This involved a hospital in Fort Worth, Texas. The hospital reported a relapse rate of 96%.
Kerber, L. (1998) <i>Substance abuse among male inmates entering the Texas Department of Criminal Justice - Institutional Division: 1998</i> , Austin, TX: Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse. 2000	1. Survey of inmates 2. Random numbers table to select inmates	954 new TDCJ inmates approached 792 complete survey (83%) Variables: race, employment status, annual household income, education, age group	6 months	Findings (within the past month of substance abuse for total new male inmates) Cigarettes - 53.6% Downers - 8.6% Alcohol - 41.2% Upers - 7.3% Any illicit drug - 35.9% Heroin - 4.3% Marijuana - 19.4% Psychedelics - 3.7% Cocaine - 11.3% Other opiates - 3.3% Crack - 9.1% Inhalants - 0.8%
Knight, K., Simpson, D. D., Chatham, L. R., & Camacho, L. M. (1997). An assessment of prison-based drug treatment: Texas' in-prison therapeutic community program. <i>Journal of Offender Rehabilitation</i> , 24(3/4), 75-100	TCADA-Texas Christian U. Study 1. pre-prison and in-prison information collected from inmates. 2. Six-month follow-up interviews 3. 75 parolees eligible but not sent to IPTC	1. 293 IPTC in-prison interview 2. 222 IPTC interviewed six months after release. 3. 75 parolees eligible but not sent to IPTC	6 months	1. 80% of inmates sent to IPTC during study graduated from program 2. Showed reduction in drug use and crime 3. IPTC graduates show lower relapse and recidivism rates than comparison group 4. Called for longer term follow-up study

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The educational research methodology outlined by Gall, Borg and Gall (1996) was employed to properly conduct this research study. The study includes the following steps: 1) define the research objectives, 2) identify the population and/or sample, 3) conduct and analyze the results of ethnographic interviews, 4) develop linguistic domain information sheets based on the interviews, 5) administer domain information sheets to the participants of the study, 6) analyze the results of the domain information sheets, 6) do follow up interviews with the participants, and 7) prepare results of the study.

This chapter describes in detail the research methodology that was followed to accomplish the purposes of the study.

Selection of the Methodology

Little or no research exists on several issues. An abundance of quantitative studies exist on recidivism, substance abuse and relation to criminal behavior, and on relapse. However, few qualitative studies exist that address all three topics simultaneously.

Quantitative documentation exists presenting the connection between lower recidivism rates and attending classes during incarceration. The CJPC reported positive results through inmate participation in Windham School District programs in Texas prisons. However, the meaning of the educational experience remains unreported due to the nature of the design of the research instrument. Therefore, a qualitative study can identify the meaning of education for inmates, explain how it changed their lives,

explicate what Windham meant to their lives in prison, and recognize specific people and issues that gave meaning in their lives.

For the state of Texas, recidivism rates represent an evaluation tool used in appraising the progress programs. In addition, the state of Texas documents recidivism records for a maximum of thirty six months. A quantitative study dealing with parolee recidivism among IPTC graduates in 1992 and 1993 presented logistical difficulties. Also, this eliminated an examination of meaning and insight of constructed experiences.

Therefore, a qualitative approach offers the chance to reconstruct the experiences of parolees as they transitioned from “life inside to life outside.” It offers the possibility to explore experiences beyond the thirty-six month limit imposed by the state of Texas. This states individual cases and samples from individual subjects. Samples deal with their individual interpretation of experiences. One subject may present convergent or divergent views in reaction to a given response by another subject. Context of an experience remains the primary element of its meaning. A qualitative approach permits the exploration of conditions under which relationships, conditions, and responses hold true.

Study Population

All participants signed a consent form approved by the Texas A&M University Institutional Review Board (IRB). Names of subjects remained confidential. This required the assignment of pseudonyms to each key participant. All participants used in the ethnographic study received the opportunity to review the finished product prior to the composition of the final draft.

Small Group

The primary group of respondents were members of a support group that exists in Harris County Texas. The group comprised graduates of IPTC and Substance Abuse Felony Punishment (SAFP) programs. A group member revealed the existence of the informal organization. The group satisfied the target objectives covering the period of time, place, and topics relevant to the study. The group consisted of twelve members in 1995. By 2002 five members remained, due to relapse and incarceration. By the time this study began, only three members remained to form the core of a sample group.

The interviewing process started with five respondents in August 2001. By January 2002, two respondents had relapsed. One was charged with heroine possession and jailed. The other respondent simply disappeared, possibly a result of a divorce and a medical report that yielded ominous findings regarding the advanced state of hepatitis C condition in his liver. Three subjects remained: “Doc Holiday,” “Wyatt Earp,” and “Dutch Hoffmeyer.”

The population represents the treatment community in Harris County, Texas. The primary category includes parolees from the 1992-1993 IPTC program that currently work as LCDCs. Primary subjects reflect the following criteria:

- a) They are paroled from the Texas Department of Criminal Justice
- b) They completed the IPTC program
- c) They are employed in the field of substance abuse treatment
- d) They are residing in Harris County Texas
- e) They are not currently incarcerated

The secondary population category included the names of those identified during interviews with primary subjects. They provided background information and further clarity of the three primary subjects. The secondary population included the names of counselors, wardens, teachers, employers, family, friends, or colleagues associated with the three primary subjects.

Instrument Development

Gall, Borg, and Gall identified three characteristics about qualitative research that differentiates it from quantitative research. These characteristics directly contribute to the development of the instrument in the study. First, observers are not neutral about the phenomena being observed. “The second difference quantitative and qualitative observation is that the focus of qualitative observation is much more emergent.” (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996, p.343) The third difference is that in qualitative research, researchers tend to expand in a wider focus, including the behavior of the subject and environmental conditions. The instrument in this study was developed from emergent research. The work of James Spradley and Sara Lawrence Lightfoot proved vital in the development of the instrument.

A number of settings served as background for the interviews. The included the homes of subjects, their places of employment, twelve-step meeting locations, and restaurants. Interviews in the workplace took place in offices, lobbies, and in one case a board room. Interviews at home took place with the family present and often with the family actively “listening” to the exchanges.

Also, interviews occurred during all seasons of the year, including seasonal holidays. This condition cast a mood on the environment leading into interviews – especially during Christmas.

To undertake this study and develop the instrument, the works of James A. Spradley and Sara Lawrence Lightfoot proved particularly helpful. Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot's works, *The good high school* and *The art and science of portraiture*, provided essential assistance in the description and application of portraits as a literary means of communication through art and science.

The researcher interviewed subjects and recorded the responses to research questions and reports provided prior to the interviews. The participants received copies of a state report prior to the interviews. This included copies of questions based on the five Research Questions. Primary participants (parolees from the IPTC program) received a copy of *Three-year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs* (Fabelo, T. March 1999). These participants received two weeks to read the report. Each participant provided responses to the report based on a common set of questions developed around the Fabelo report.

Prior to interviewing the subjects, the researcher attempted to solicit information from officers at Harris County Department of Parole and Probation in order to establish clarity of meaning of terms that are vital to the progress of the study. The objective included an explanation of terms such as recidivism, success, and relapse. Not one Harris County Parole office offered a definition of recidivism, or relapse, let alone success. Officials at a Westheimer Parole office suggested calling TDCJ or Windham School

District for clarification. Within five minutes of discussing matters with Windham officials, the personnel clarified all issues.

Recidivism refers to re-arrest after release from prison. Success means not recidivating. No state guidelines and documentation for parolee progress exists outside of the thirty-six month period of monitoring for arrest that begins upon release.

Upon the conclusion of each interview, the subjects were asked for the names of others considered helpful to the progress of the study (other IPTC graduates from the same years). Others answered questions that provided background and support information for the information garnered from the three IPTC graduates. The researcher reserved the right to establish the number of subjects interviewed in the study.

Data Collection Procedures

The procedures for data collection utilized in the research study followed the guidelines found in Spradley (1979). The purpose of data collection is to communicate co-constructed realities. Co-constructed realities exist in the language relationship developed between the researcher and the subject. Research and data collection were conducted simultaneously. These realities were then communicated in the results of the study.

The methodology borrows concepts from the linguistic theory known as the Sapir-Whor hypothesis. According to Chandler (1995), the more extreme interpretations of the hypothesis consist of two principles. “According to the first, *linguistic determinism*, our thinking is determined by language. According to the second, *linguistic relativity*, people who speak different languages perceive and think about the world quite

differently” (Chandler. 1995 p.16). Chandler provides further clarification of the second interpretation of the Sapir-Whor hypothesis by providing the following characteristics.

- the emphasis is on the potential for thinking to be ‘influenced’ rather than unavoidably ‘determined’ by language;
- it is a two-way process, so that ‘the kind of language we use’ is also influenced by ‘the way we see the world’;
- any influence is ascribed not to ‘Language’ as such or to one language compared with another, but to the use *within a language* of one variety rather than another (typically a *sociolect* – the language used primarily by members of a particular social group);
- emphasis is given to the social context of language use rather than to purely linguistic considerations, such as the social pressure in particular contexts to use language in one way rather than another (Chandler, p.18)

These modified concepts of the Sapir-Whor hypothesis contributed to the methodological foundations associated with Spradley (1979).

Spradley (1979) states cultural realities are co-constructed between the researcher and the subject and represent an outcome of relational theory of meaning:

1. Cultural meaning systems are encoded in symbols.
2. Language is the primary symbol system that encodes cultural meaning in every society. Language can be used to talk about all other encoded symbols.
3. The meaning of any symbol is its relationship to other symbols in particular culture.
4. The task of ethnography is to decode cultural symbols and identify underlying coding rules. This can be accomplished by discovering the relationship among cultural symbols (Spradley, 1979, p.99)

Cultural meaning systems and cultural symbols include beliefs and histories of both subject and researcher. Language shapes experience and gains shape through the

experiences or phenomena of those who speak it. Language then remains essential to the question of how realities are collaboratively constructed.

How are realities constructed? How can constructed realities be communicated? How can constructed realities be verified so that they can be facilitated? In *Doing naturalistic inquiry*, Erlandson indicates that humans operate within realities that they themselves have constructed when they are involved in the process of naturalistic inquiry. If no two constructed realities and no two human beings are identical, the researcher brings his/her constructed reality into contact with their informants. Upon constructing new realities with the informants, the researcher must construct new realities to communicate findings to colleagues. Shared constructions are developed collaboratively.

Spradley considers five observations regarding informants and research: 1) What do my informants know about the culture that I can discover? 2) What concepts do my informants use to classify their experiences? 3) How do my informants define these concepts? 4) What folk theory do my informants use to explain their experience? 5) How can I translate the cultural knowledge of my informants into a cultural description my colleagues will understand? (Spradley, 1979, p.30)

The use of James Spradley's domain analysis became useful in data analysis and explanation of the IPTC parolee's language. Spradley explains methods of semantic analysis, including domain analysis, in *The Ethnographic Interview*, (1979). The domain analysis of this study included the use of worksheets (see Appendix B-D). The worksheets identified terms, other expressions related to the terms, and the context by which they are used. Other research tools included asking structural questions, the use of

contrast questions, and employing domain analysis. The goal of the analysis is to isolate cultural themes within the subculture of parolees working in substance abuse treatment.

Spradley views the relationship through language as a reciprocal relationship between voluntary involvement and empowerment for the human actors. The unique experiences of each human endow words with meaning and abstraction as people engage one another in the collaborative construction of realities. Each constructs images in the mind of the other through language (or graphic symbols) of a culture or its folk terms. According to Spradley, “I focus exclusively on language because it is such an essential part of all ethnographic field work, and because such a narrow focus will facilitate the task of learning to do ethnography” (1979, p.9).

Spradley contends that through emergent analysis (the simultaneous collection and analysis of data) the decoding of “folk terms” uncovers hidden realms of meaning. Spradley defines folk terms as: “the names for things, qualities, processes, and actions that make up the words that go into a typical dictionary (1979, p. 108).

However, “domains” hold particularly significant to this study. A domain includes any symbolic category that includes other categories and share at least one common meaning.

Spradley considers four elements in the structure of a domain: cover terms, included terms, semantic relationships, and boundaries. “In a domain the semantic relationship links a cover term to all the included terms in its set” (1979, p.101). In the space below, Figure 1 provides assistance in comprehending the language dynamics leading to domain identification. First, a cover term represents a term that includes many

other categories (“car” includes Chevy, Dodge, and Ford). Second, included terms refers to the use of more than one term to imply the meaning of a larger category (Chevy, Dodge, and Ford are known as cars). Third, a single semantic relationship involves the linking together of two folk categories where A defines B (A Chevy is a kind of car). In this case the semantic link “is a kind of” connects Chevy with car and car with Chevy. Finally, establishing a boundary occurs upon an informant’s response that “No, a Harley-Davidson is not a car.”

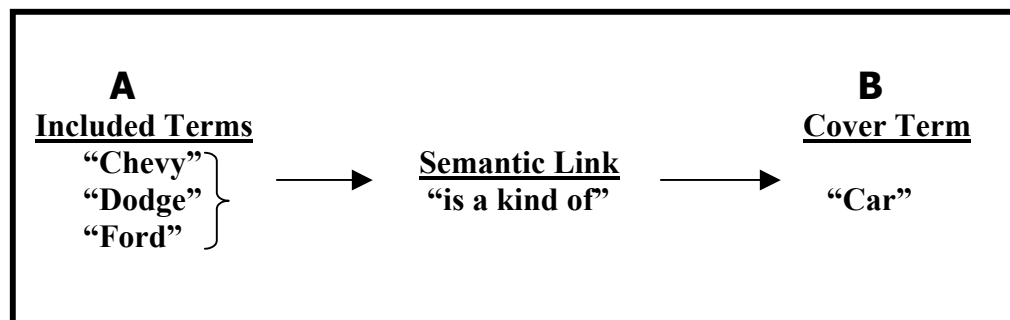


Figure 1. Domain Structure (Spradley)

Design and Analysis

The purpose of this research study was to determine the “insider’s perception” of issues related to recidivism, education in Windham School District, and the progress associated with the IPTC program. Naturalistic data collection and analysis was employed to accomplish those ends. The work of Spradley (1979) and Lawrence Lightfoot (1983, 1997) proved vital the development, collection, and analysis of this endeavor.

The following procedures of Spradley were observed in carrying out the research study and engaging in the analysis of data. Making field contact records provided clarification in record keeping. Data records were documented upon all interviews. Field notes were kept in an outline file system. A tape recorder was used based upon the researcher's evaluation of the research environment.

Analysis of data dealt with the collection and explanation of the parolee's language. Methods of semantic analysis included domain analysis (Spradley, 1979). Domain analysis included the use of worksheets. The worksheets helped identify terms, other expressions that are related to the terms, and the context by which they are used. The goal of the analysis was to isolate cultural themes within the subculture of parolees working in substance abuse treatment.

Field notes and tape recordings of each scheduled conversation provided the data base for analysis. Taped conversations and field notes taken during telephone conversations led to verbatim transcription on to file cards. Five research questions were asked over a series of interviews with three participants. Participants were interviewed three times.

Cards were numbered and placed into an outline order. Cards from one interview were placed on a large open table in rows in numerical order. Color codes were employed in order to scan the cards for linguistic analysis. Initial scan of one interview (Doc for example) concentrated on significant verbs and nouns. A second scan concentrated on the repetitive patterns and phrases, terms, conditions, characteristics, cause and effect relations, persons, and government offices.

The interviews with the three participants underwent the same procedures of highlighting and organizing significant linguistic symbols into a uniform color code. The file cards from each participant were organized into three numerically sequential lines on a long table (see Appendix A: File Card Analysis). Semantic associations began to emerge from the observation of the three lines of interview file cards: one for each participant.

The next step involved selection of common semantic groupings in the interviews of the three participants. A list of language similarities evolved from this procedure. These similarities were then organized by linguistic domain type.

Based on Spradley's methodology, a Semantic Worksheet Template was designed to bring order to the organizing process (see Appendix B: Semantic Worksheet Template). One sheet served to log folk terms for one domain. The procedure established lists of included terms or folk terms. These terms were linked to general terms or cover terms by an identified semantic relationship.

For example, the "Winner's Circle, prayer, and sponsor support" represent included terms. "The means of making it on the outside" is a cover term. A "semantic relationship" connects the included terms with the cover term. The semantic relationship in this case exists as "contingency." In other words: success becomes contingent upon involvement in Winner's Circle, prayer, and sponsor support (See Figure 2). Cover terms that contain several included terms qualify as a domain – a major category of linguistic symbolism. Additional references for terms attributed to each of the three particular sources were added. Doc was assigned 1, Wyatt 2, and Dutch 3.

Included Terms	Semantic Relationship (Contingency)	Cover Term
Winner's Circle Prayer Sponsor Support	X is a source of Y	The Means of Making It

Figure 2. Working the Worksheet Template

Findings from the Worksheet Sheet Templates led to the development of structural questions.

This led to the development of the Structural Question Sheet (see Appendix C). Structural questions provided the foundation for organizing the data gained from the semantic worksheets. The instrument tested the degree of uniform linguistic acceptance of terms and conditions among the three participants. In addition, questions on the sheet established boundaries for the domains.

Each Structural Question Sheet included several components. This incorporated the domain, the semantic relationship, an example of the semantic relationship, and a structural question related to the domain. Several included terms, based on the participant's responses from earlier interviews, were provided. Participants checked boxes beside the included term if they generally agreed with or felt positive about the

term. Participants wrote comments in space provided on each Structural Question Worksheet. Responses clarified the meaning of included terms. In addition the information led to expansion or abridgement of domain boundaries.

During later interviews, participants asked questions for clarification. Attempts were made to avoid any interpretation of the questions or comments on the sheet by redirecting the question back to the participant. For example: “Well, exactly what do you think the statement means? It’s OK because your opinion is very important to me.”

The next step required the composition of Domain Tally Sheets (see Appendix D). The sheets reflected the answers of the three participants and covered all identified domains. The sheet records the responses provided by participants on Structural Question Sheets. It records positive and negative responses. All “Not Applicable” answers received “NA.” Also, personal comments received a notation in the check box and placement of the comment with the corresponding note in the space provided at the bottom of the form.

The results of the Domain Tally Sheets provided a powerful indicator of the limits of domains. It delivered congruence of meaning on common terms among the participants. It also demonstrated the divergence between the participants on certain points of meaning and belief.

However, the credibility of such established realities requires constant attention. Realities change over time. A tree is not the same tree as it was a year ago. The reality of the corporate composition in the House of Representatives changes as the result of elections held every two years. Also, errors often occur in the creation of collaborative

realities. For example, Margaret Meade's study on the sexual habits of indigenous Pacific island peoples represents a commonly known example of erroneous collaboratively established realities.

The development and modification of Spradley's structural question worksheet responded to the credibility issue and trustworthiness in general. It established prolonged engagement. In addition, the four step process provided an audit trail. For example, a researcher may wish to investigate a religious symbol used in a culture under study. The researcher asks questions of an informant regarding the use of the symbols. The construction of reality empowers the informant and provides ontological and educative authenticity. The format gains new insight into his own constructions and those of others.

A summary of the methodology and procedure are provided in Figure 3. In addition, the use of portraiture, an essential component of this study, relied upon the works of Sara Lawrence Lightfoot.

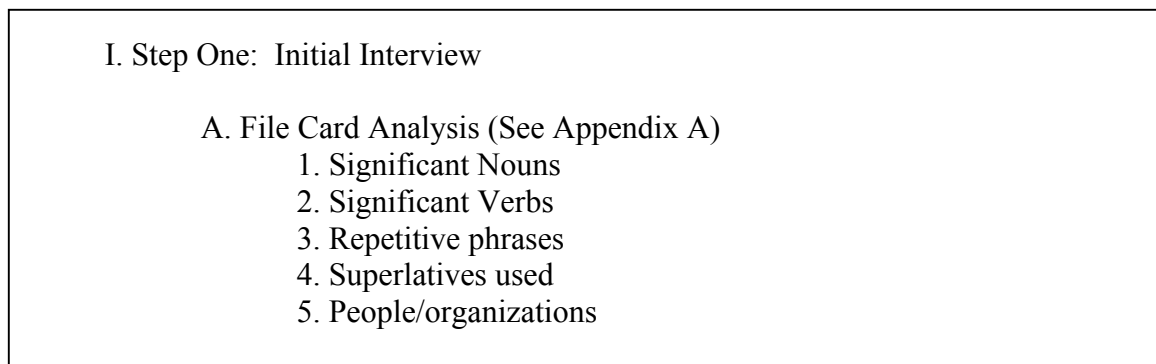


Figure 3. Summary of Methodology and Procedures

II. Step Two: Common Semantic Grouping

A. Spradley Based Semantic Worksheet Template (See Appendix B)

1. Identify:

- a. Included terms
- b. Semantic Relationship
- c. Cover Terms
- d. Determine Domains (Analysis)

III. Step Three: Structural Question Sheet (see Appendix C)

A. Based on Results from Spradley Based Semantic Worksheet Template

1. Test the degree of uniform linguistic acceptance of terms
2. Examine social congruence.
3. Establish boundaries for the domains.
4. Analysis
5. Process Builds the Following:
 - a. Credibility – *Triangulation*
 - b. Transferability – *Thick Description & Purposive Sampling*
 - c. Dependability – *Dependability Audit*
 - d. Confirmability – *Through audit trail and through internal& external validity found in a-c.*
 - e. *Ontological & Educative Authenticity*

IV. Step Four: Summary Sheets (see Appendix D)

V. Step Five: Chapter IV: Results of Study

A. The Portraiture Methodology of Sara Lawrence Lightfoot

Figure 3. Continued

The methodological influence for portraiture derived from Sara Lawrence Lightfoot (1983) in her book *The good high school*. An additional work co-authored by Sara Lawrence Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffmann Davis (1997), *The art and science of portraiture*, provided tremendous insight into the experience of portraiture. An explanation of this methodology background served as a clarification in the study for

summary portraiture and research questions. Briefly, in the study the primary components of portraiture involve context, voice, relationship, and emergent theme.

Context development involved all elements of Lawrence Lightfoot's components for the term. "By context, I mean the setting—physical, geographical, temporal, historical, cultural, and aesthetic—within which the action takes place." (Davis & Lawrence Lightfoot, 1997, p.41) This research component, resting on constructivism and contrasting with positivist research, assists in providing a thick description required in ethnographic portraiture.

Context provided the feel, smell, sights, and sounds of environments in the three portraits. This involved thick description of environmental conditions. This included a description of interior and exterior environmental conditions. For example, I provided an environmental account in the vignette about the figures in the winter cold outside the New Directions therapeutic treatment center in the Wyatt Earp portrait. The description included an account of physical and geographical settings in the Houston area in all three portraits. Historical accounts involved all three portraits in the description of their family of origin, ethnicity, and cultural background including the unedited use of the subject's language (including grammar and colloquial expressions).

Portraiture involves voice. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot states: "Voice in portraiture encompasses these three orientations—of epistemology, ideology, and method (with some variations in both framing and naming them)—but includes others, as well, reflecting the portraitist's explicit interest in authorship, interpretation, relationship, aesthetics, and narrative." (Davis & Lawrence Lightfoot, 1997, p.87) However, in *Art*

and science of portraiture, Sara Lawrence Lightfoot suggests six general modalities. The application of voice in portraiture included *witness* of the event. The use of voice in *interpretation* represents the attempt to make sense of the observation. The use of voice as *preoccupation* considers with the way observation and text take form by assumptions brought by the researcher. The use of voice as *autobiography* provides the background of the researcher as a reflection to sharpen and focus the meaning of the story of the portraitist. Voice in *conversation* involves *listening* and *dialogue*. In *listening* for voice, “we focus on the actors’ voice; we listen for the timbre, cadence, and tone of their voices, their message, and meaning.” (Davis & Lawrence, 1997 Lightfoot, p.99) *Dialogue* deals with hearing the voices of the researcher and the actor in dialogue.

Relationship follows voice. “It is through relationships between the portraitist and the actors that access is sought and given connections made, contracts of reciprocity and responsibility (both formal and informal) developed, trust built, intimacy negotiated, data collected, and knowledge constructed.” (Davis & Lawrence Lightfoot, 1997, p.135) Fortunately, I established sound working relationships with Doc, Wyatt, and Dutch.

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot elaborates on the importance of emergent themes. This deals in the interpretation, analysis, and synthesis of data. The process coincides with data collection. “The portraitist works to develop a process and a structure for categorizing the data, for tracing patterns, for capturing and constructing the themes—all the while trying to preserve the nuance and complexity of the real lived experience, and always remaining attentive to the ‘deviant voice.’” (Davis & Lawrence Lightfoot, 1997,

p.214) I employed the domain analysis of James P. Spradley in order to identify and work creatively with emergent themes in the form of folkway and language relationships.

Aesthetics deals with the creation of the whole that in gestalt terms represents a sum that equals more than the total parts. Lawrence-Lightfoot describes this as a judgmental process that draws from the various modalities to create a cohesive aesthetic whole through a balance of creativity and empiricism. “We are reminded of the dual motivations guiding portraiture: to inform and inspire, to document and transform, to speak to the head and to the heart.” (Davis & Lawrence Lightfoot, 1997, p.143) In *The Good High School*, Lawrence-Lightfoot describes the complex and arduous task involved in evaluating, documenting, and selecting the various pieces of experience that form a gestalt mosaic.

The portraitist’s search has the qualities of an investigation. It is determined, uncompromising, and increasingly focused. All of one’s senses are used to decipher what is important and the quality of things. Decisions are made about what must be left out in order to pursue what one thinks are central and critical properties. The piecing together of the portrait has elements of puzzle building and quilt making. How does one fit the jagged, uneven pieces together? When are in place, what designs appear? A tapestry emerges, a textured piece with shapes and colors that create moments of interest and emphasis. Detailed stories are told in order to illuminate more general phenomena; a subtle nuance of voice of posture reveals a critical attitude. What evolves is a piece of writing that conveys the tone, style, and tempo of the school environment as well as its more static structures and behavioral processes. (Lawrence Lightfoot, 1983, p.16)

In closing chapter of *The good high school*, Lawrence-Lightfoot developed a notion of “goodness in school” as she displayed group portraits of “good schools.” She delineated a concept of “good” that served as a paradigm during portrait development

These portraits of good schools reveal imperfections, uncertainties,

and vulnerabilities in each of them. In fact, one could argue that a consciousness about imperfections, and the willingness to admit them and search for their origins and solutions is one of the important ingredients of goodness in schools. (Lawrence Lightfoot, 1983, p.309)

Based on this principle, portraits of Lawrence Lightfoot's models evolved from interaction with standards that influenced actors in each institution. This contributed to the identification of institutions regarding each topic.

Group portraits of subjects in this study build upon Lawrence Lightfoot's influence regarding portraiture. However, rather than implement standards from emergent terms, this study utilized the five research questions in chapter one to serve as the standards to establish group portraits. The group persona developed and evolved from the data upon addressing each question. This involves the consideration of all three participants in addressing each one of the five questions.

Also, Lawrence Lightfoot's concept of "goodness" proved relevant and applied to this study in development of the concept of "making it." The statement "a consciousness about imperfections, and the willingness to admit them" resonates with common language found in therapeutic communities, in recovery and in the program.

The interviews provided a wide range of language that deals in the paradoxical nature of working for "goodness, not perfection." The language openly reveals imperfections and personal limitations. The addict in recovery, for example, admits powerlessness over addiction. The components for "making it" bear similarities with the components of goodness in schools. Ingredients for making it included: openness to admit shortcoming, dealing in group meetings, working with a sponsor, keeping a journal, asking forgiveness, making a plan, following boundaries, and living by the

expressions “easy does it” and “one day at a time.” The concept of “goodness” and the language of “the program” exhibit common characteristics that include openness to admit shortcomings, the desire to improve, a spirit of cooperation, and a feeling of responsibility to a larger concept of community.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to address the gaps in research literature that exist in the field of knowledge by providing information from an "inside" angle of vision through the parolee view of selected topics. A lack of qualitative studies represented a gap in literature, particularly in the following areas: 1) conditions surrounding recidivism in Texas, 2) the Windham School District's educational and affective achievement, 3) conditions inside the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program and contributions made by inmates in the treatment program, and 4) an "insider's perception" on making it as a reformed parolee and recovered addict living in society.

Introduction

Personal accounts provided critical evaluation explicating factors and conditions that contribute to relapse and recidivism. Parolees provided insight on the roles they played in the development of the early IPTC program. Parolees detailed the impact made on their lives by adult education offered during and after incarceration. These parolees provided their perspective of the early results of the IPTC program and reaction to CJPC report - *Three year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs*, (Fabelo, Criminal Justice Policy Committee, March 1999). Also, these insiders provided feedback to critique the effects of policies and practices of organizations such as IPTC, SAFF, TDCJ, and TCADA, upon the

operation of half way houses. Interviews took place in therapeutic treatment centers, restaurants, homes, by telephone and by email over a period of eighteen months.

The findings are arranged as a composite of the interviews and analysis drawn from each participant in the research study. The following three narratives represent the findings and analysis of three participants in the study.

Doc Holiday

I went to meet Doc Holiday in Tombstone. Doc's worked a number of these kinds of places. Tombstone is one of several substance abuse treatment centers existing on a contemporary urban American frontier in Houston, Texas. I drove roughly 20 miles from suburban, The Woodlands, Texas to interview Doc Holiday, an x-con, an addict in recovery, and a licensed chemical dependency counselor I have known since 1995.

The modern frontier juxtaposes polarities of order and chaos, law and crime, health and sickness, life and death. The new frontier society views drug addiction as a criminal problem, while suburbia views addiction as a health problem. Within the frontier exists the vast majority of Houston's residential chemical treatment centers. According to Doc: "Right next to treatment and help exists relapse and recidivism at the very next street corner."

The social economic makeup of the surrounding rapidly changed as I drove toward northeast Houston. The upscale stores with posh décor and Starbucks coffee shops were replaced with run down shopping strips with burglar bars and pawnshops. The population became comprised predominately of minority and poor. I passed numerous boarded up houses. Graffiti scrawled on the brick walls of the convenience

stores and the presence of burglar bars indicates both gang and criminal activity. I am astonished as I drive east on Crosstimbers and reflect that Doc, a product of southern Louisiana's KKK country and a member of the White Aryan Nation in prison, now gladly works in this setting and deeply embraces people of all colors as brothers/sisters and equals.

It's a warm late November day. It's late afternoon – nearly 4:30 when I finally reached Tombstone. The complex is a converted two-story apartment building with a large open courtyard. I parked the car in the lot in the rear of a small apartment complex and proceeded toward a group of men and asked "Is Doc Holiday around?" A young African American man yells out "anyone seed mistah Holiday roun here?" Three men chime in "yea, he's ov'a in is office. It's ov'a dare". They pointed through the passageway leading inside the courtyard. The majority of the population was primarily composed of African Americans with a few Hispanics and an even fewer whites. Everyone seated around the parking lot entrance and courtyard are absorbed with their notebooks and helping one another with notebook entries.

The administrative building was simple and very worn. That just-cleaned, institutional smell of pine sol permeated the office. Two female attendants sat behind a desk and a counter to my right. The walls behind the attendants had employee schedules and check-in charts. I introduced myself and said I had an appointment with Doc. An attendant told me "Doc has a client in his office and he'll be a few minuets." She then asks if I would like to wait in the office or the courtyard.

It's now 5:00 mealtime and several "clients" mill around starting to line up the courtyard anticipating supper, while others line up to receive prescribed medications. An ice cream truck parked in the lot next to the courtyard. The driver made sales to a line of waiting clients. Meanwhile, the truck repeatedly chimed out with the nearly thirty monotonous minutes of *Pop Goes the Weasel* to create a setting that felt both surreal and comical.

Suddenly from the administration office Doc pop his head through an open door and shouts "Hey dude. Ya'll been waitin very long? "No," I say. "Just taking in the sights."

Doc commands a tremendous sense of presence. Though under six foot, he resembles a well fed, bearded Chuck Norris-looking cowboy. He has brown-red hair mixed with gray, dark eyes, and numerous jailhouse tats (prison tattoos) including two teardrop tattoos that serve as testimonials for carrying out two hit attempts during incarceration.

Doc invites me into his office. His charm and warmth is contagious. Doc's office became Doc personified through the inclusion of personal items such as golf photos, a photo with his grandson, a caricature of Doc – the cowboy, licenses, diplomas, and a photo of himself and Governor Ann Richards.

In this relaxed surrounding, Doc began to talk. He demonstrated the folksy wit of Will Rogers and a superior intellect. Extremely animated in speech, his vocabulary encompassed criminal experience and the 12-steps, the Bible and the Doors, Kierkegaard, and Mother Jones. All this filtered through the culture of a heavy south Louisiana accent,

an accent that often left me, a person of Yankee origins, feeling nothing short of stupid in regard to syntactical meaning. Doc dropped his volume to a very low level to emphasize points of importance or intimacy. Facial and hand gestures intensified the impact of his communication. You could imagine Doc's words in italics when he made superlative reference to exemplary events or people.

I wanted to ease into conversation. "So, are you from Houston, Doc?"

Doc had another idea. "I was born in Pensacola, FL in 1956 during a hurricane. And everyone said that that's how my life would turn out!" Every time I sit and talk with Doc I find another secret from his past that reveals that he beat all odds and survived – a long shot in life. He is a walking miracle for the fact that he is alive and that he completely transformed his life from addiction and violent criminal behavior to "making it" in society.

We moved to Louisiana and that's where I grew up. My father and my mother are there. I have two sisters, an older brother and two younger brothers. That makes me the mascot or the hero child or something like that. My sisters are married and there are 'doin' [doing] OK.

Doc's two older brothers beat their drug and alcohol problems. However, Doc feels remorse over the death of his younger brother. "He died of *AIDS* just six months before I was released."

in 1993. It was really hard for me 'bein' [being] inside [incarcerated] because I was the one who introduced my little brother to the world of IV drugs."

Doc chronicled a history of family violence and dysfunction that began at an early age. "I remember 'fightin' [fighting] alcoholic fathers... 'fightin' them when I was a

kid...‘fightin’ against grown men with 2x4s to protect my mother from getting hurt...for the other kids from getting hurt.” Family dysfunction included intimate involvement with criminal behavior. According to Doc, most of the family was involved in drugs or crime.

Everybody in my family had a history of crime. My cousin was a heroine addict. My earliest memories of my cousin was him ‘puttin’ [putting] me through ‘windas’ [windows] to burglarize buildings.... I think I was around six...or six or seven or so.

He painted a family portrait by identifying dysfunction behavior in terms of abuse of drugs and alcohol and participation in criminal activities. The family behavior helped establish Doc’s identity at a young age.

When I was a kid, all you had to do if you wanted something is ask Doc. People used to give me lists of what to get and I’d steal it for them. What did this give me? An identity. Shit, if there was anything you wanted, you’d just turn in a list. This was elementary school.... drugs, hot goods. If you wanted something, you just turned in a list. Whatever it was. It gave me.... power.... control.

According to Doc, it gave him an identity, a criminal identity.

Fortunately for Doc, he had a strong role model that provided positive direction for a few years. Bill Hickock was a few years older than Doc was. Bill, a successful high school athlete and a leader, befriended Doc. The students and community members admired the accomplishments of Bill Hickock. “When I was with Bill, we were doing positive things and I was staying out of trouble. Bill served as my role model until he drown in a swimming accident.” The death of Bill left Doc friendless. The event opened Doc to the dysfunctional influence of his family members. However, the memory of Bill served as a role model that assisted Doc when he entered treatment in later years.

Doc claimed he knew he had good relatives, but he rarely saw them. The exception was his grandmother and to her Doc was “the bad boy” of the family. This relationship helped establish a type of fatalism that hung over Doc’s life for years.

According to my grandmother, whose dead now.... she told me that I was the *ONLY CHILD* that she bought ‘barrel’ [burial] insurance for. She knew I’d never live. I’d run away...raisin hell at two years old. I was the only child from five.... my five brothers and sisters.... that she bought ‘barrel’ [burial].

I developed a slight communication impasse. “Doc, What is barrel insurance?”

“Dude.... you know BARREL! When ya die, they burry ya.”

“OH. OK. *BURRIAL* insurance.” Once again mired in the Louisiana accent

Doc told me that he always thought it was strange that she saw and believed in an ill-fated future destined to him. “Whether I lived out the script that was written for me...or I wrote my own script.... I don’t know.... I think a lot of what I did is what was expected of me.”

The conversation moved on to public school, an arena of my own dark past. I approached the topic with particular caution. Doc told said that he believed he made A’s in elementary school. However, he retains no memories of his elementary school experiences except for crime and drugs. “I hit 8th and 9th grade and I went straight to hell...cause I know I dropped out in 9th grade.”

By the time Doc became a high school freshman, South Louisiana became embroiled over racial tension. The Ku Klux Klan enjoyed widespread popular support in those parishes. Doc explained that he grew up in a place and time where if you were anybody you fought or you protested. His mother showed protest by flying Dixie flags

everywhere. And Doc? He quickly injected: “I wanted to be somebody so I got into it. I was constantly getting into fights till I was kicked out or quit.”

Doc’s conversation conjured memories of racial turbulence from my own past. Although I was raised in a small city in the northeastern U.S., an environment of racism also enveloped that community. Ironically, I related to much of what Doc conveyed. Violence disrupted the education process until expulsion of the offenders provided a stopgap answer for short-term solutions to a pervasive problem.

Doc redirected the conversation from racial strife and dropping out. “I eventually got sent to the State Youth Commission in Louisiana. I spent three years there and they finally gave up on me.” He chuckled as he recalled how he was “promoted” from Block A – minimum custody – to Block C – maximum custody, within a week of arrival. While in custody, Doc, the 14-15 year old high school drop out, was selected to teach phys. ed. as part of the President’s Physical Fitness Program. Doc noted that people looked to him for answers and sought direction. Also, teaching came very naturally to him.

Doc forged on with the conversation. I now imagined I was listening to a Louisiana Dante provide his account of time Hell. Doc’s conversation grew much darker before any light would break.

I proceeded to inquire about life during adolescence. In spite of his juvenile record, Doc received a scholarship to a community college back in Louisiana, which provided the opportunity to earn his GED and College education. However, Doc’s compulsion toward drug abuse and crime aborted this chance.

I got involved in a ‘big party’ and got caught flat out on federal firearms violations. The feds must have been following me or it

was a set-up. But they busted me straight out and in 1977 I started serving time in Leavenworth on a level 4 out of 5 maximum-security prison. Doing time with the big boys.

I asked, "So how many years did you serve in all?"

Doc glanced upward, whispered his calculations, and arrived at a figure. "I got out in August 31, 1993 at 10:00 AM. OK, that makes nineteen years, dude."

I ran over the math and something seemed obviously wrong. "Wait a minute Doc. You said you "went inside" [incarceration] in 1977 and you "came out" [paroled] in 1993. I know I'm an Aggie and all, but that comes to twenty six years."

Doc looked very business like and composed as he said, "Well dude, ya know I was out four or five time between those dates."

I pressed to know the dates of release. "OK, so what dates were you out?"

Doc paused and glanced upward again. "Well, let's see...1979, 1980, 1982, 1984, and 1986. Yea, I think that's it."

I was astounded. "You mean they released you five times and you were rearrested and sent back?"

Doc laughed and said "*Released!* Who said anything about being released? The only time the state of Texas released me was August 1993."

Again, feeling a bit dumbfounded a managed part of a sentence.

Doc smiled, cocked his head and immediately added "I thought it was in my best interest to check myself out of TDCJ those times. 1993 was the only time I did it legally."

This explained the extended sentence for a 5-year term for the federal weapons violation and the conversation returned to the darkness of Doc's past.

Doc clarified how the world inside operated on another much higher level of crime than he previously experienced. He spoke emphatically as he said "it was a situation where they were runnin [running] 'con after con' [making gain through deceit] with life or death stakes because life meant nothing inside." He explained how the heads of the White Supremacist and the Black Nationalist gangs collaborated to recruit new offenders. White Supremacists agreed to assault and rape new African American prisoners while Black Nationalist gang members agreed to direct similar actions against new white prisoners.

I was a nineteen human being when I entered the prison and in less than a year I was reduced to an animal. Learning how to survive. You get raped and brutalized until you go to these nice guys that are there and are willing to help you. When you're in the gang all that ends. But there's always payback later

You can't get out of the gang. Doc admits that it was dumb luck and the rest was his gang affiliation that extended his prison time. He recalls two escapes into which he became drawn

– a victim of circumstance rather than conspiracy.

I was at the wrong place at the wrong time during an escape. Either I joined in the escape or I would have been 'done in' [killed]. So out I went. I got as far as the wall. They added six years onto my five-year sentence.

In 1986 at the Darrington Unit of TDCJ, he recalled being drawn into another escape while tripping on LSD. He remained out almost two years, lived in Dallas, dealt drugs, drove car for drug dealers, and provided protection for the drug operation.

Doc explained how gang involvement extended prison time. He calmly elaborated upon an incident that clarified how gangs functioned in the prison culture, thriving on “runnin cons” and preying on others.

Toward the end of my sentence I was working a kitchen job. It was mostly me and members of my gang working in the kitchen. There was one inmate from a rival gang working there. The members of my gang decided to jump the guy from the rival gang. I didn’t want to but I knew what it meant. We nearly killed him. The gang members were lifers and they didn’t have anything to lose. They were out to extend my prison and gang time. I was also involved in a stabbing. This was gang related. This extended my time.

Doc filled in the gaps between 1977 and 1993 illuminating the escapes, assaults, and other gang related violations during incarceration. I sensed that this was a stopping point in the conversation. Moreover, Doc smiled and said he had to lead a group session in another part of the treatment center. We adjourned our session and set it for two weeks.

It was the Christmas season and the town was decorated for the holidays. I met Doc for dinner at an Italian restaurant off Westheimer in the Galleria area of Houston – far from the frontier. The atmosphere inside was intimate and quiet enough for a wonderful conversation. Doc was vibrant: holidays plans to travel with his wife to Colorado to visit his grandson.

He initiated the conversation by readdressing the issue of prison life.

“Did ya ever thaw out a beef or pork roast in the kitchen and check to see if it thawed out?” he said.

“Sure,” I replied.

“Well, dude, ya know how it feels when ya stab a knife into the raw meat?”

“Sure, often,” I responded.

“Ya hear that sound that the knife makes, like a hiss or a sip when ya pull it out?”

“Yes, come to think of it.”

“Well, that’s just what it’s like when ya stab a man.”

I was temporally speechless in reaction to Doc’s revelation. In spite of my temporary astonishment, we managed to move on to the issue of Doc’s transformation.

This experience led me to enquire “What started the change process for you?” He provided a short answer: “Windham Schools.” Doc elaborated that it started with the differences made by school in the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ). Doc attributed the experience to the administration of all Texas prison schools by the Windham School District rather than by TDCJ.

School offered a break from prison. It usually depends on the principal, but it’s run different than the prison. You’re not a convict. You’re a student. They treat you like a human being. They talk to you like (you’re) an individual.

Doc spoke with admiration of the Windham teachers and administrators and of their dedication to their “students.” They introduced Doc to new things. “One day they brought in the milk, the espresso, and the teacher showed us cons how to make cappuccino.” Teachers gave extra time to discuss topics that inmates never discussed. Doc eagerly delved into philosophy and started asking the big question “why am I here?” “I also started asking myself ‘why the hell am I here----in this stinking prison wasting my life away’?” Doc questions received direction from Bonnie Lorie, Windham Principal at Darrington Unit. She provided books: Nietzsche, Sartre, and Kierkegaard. Doc emphasized: “These are the things that really started a change.”

Doc began to assume roles of positive in leadership and community.

I guess I was.... around...35 years old. But I already started making progress. I took over a newspaper at Darrington. I was writing a Newspaper for the prison. I was developing programs for the prison – the inmate communication enhancement program through our warden. He was the only Ph.D. in the entire Texas system – Dr. Steven Price.

Doc explained how Warden Price entrusted him with the newspaper editorials and other duties. He never attempted anything like it in his life. Soon, Doc not only wrote the newspaper, he gained a job in the Education Department. “I had an opportunity to develop college classes for Alvin Junior College.” Doc demonstrated administrative savvy by eliminating many less popular courses in order to ensure registration levels for other classes.

What I did was to narrow it down.... down to the basic core.... the basic courses...and then we'd take the courses that might be of interest...and then we'd narrow it down to about seven or eight courses that made sense and were manageable. So the college program was built.

Education became Doc's initial catalyst for change during his years at Darrington (1985-1993).

Doc took another step in “getting turned around” [straight, sober, law abiding] through choices he made at the Kyle Unit. – a unit that was totally unique from the Texas prison system. How did Kyle differ from other units? Doc became animated and as he spoke passionately about Kyle. TDCJ knew of Doc's substance abuse problem since intake at each unit in which he resided. After going through screening upon entry to each unit, Doc explained that he took the diagnostics test battery including the ASI - Addiction Severity Index.

After serving his time on the unit, Doc qualified for transfer to a special pre-release program at the Kyle Unit – the In Prison Therapeutic Treatment Community (IPTC) program. The program was copied from the Staying Out Program in Chicago

It's a private unit run by the Wackenhut Corporation about 25 miles southeast of Austin. TDCJ traditionally doesn't like private prisons because if they do a better job, it makes them [TDCJ] look bad. And Wackenhut did a superb job. When we entered the unit we were violent long-term prisoners. Some of us had been 10 or 20 years in prison and we didn't have the slightest notion of changing or getting turned around.

At first Doc refused to participate in therapy. Kyle started A-Block first and then B-Block. "We called it Angel Block cause they were teaching TC to them while we were still laying around, working half day and hanging around in the yard." Warden John Bonner's intervention curtailed these behaviors and helped get many like Doc turned around.

We were selling "wolf tickets and hogs" [bluffs and threats] and we had a warden who bought all of em we wanted to sell.... and would ship our ass back to TDCJ.... You wanna play bad boy? – We got a place for ya.... You wanna be one of us – Got a place for ya. I loved John Bonner for that. He didn't tolerate our shit and he gave us an opportunity to fix it before he threw us out.

Warden Bonner's candor and resolve forced Doc to make a decision: stay or leave. He chose to participate in treatment rather than go back to Darrington to wait release. Later, Bonner's behavior served as a paradigm both personally and professionally as Doc became a substance abuse counselor.

He had a prison with no guns.... no billy clubs.... no handcuffs.... you had to be a lieutenant to have a set of cuffs. But the officers had to learn to interact with us without violence...and we knew that... so we knew we didn't have to be violent. We didn't have to be handcuffed behind our backs and have our feet pulled out from under us and slammed...body-slammed...So we had to adjust our

thinking to fit that place. They wanted us to be clean and the place to be clean. They wanted us to have pride and respect for ourselves. And it was interesting that when we had that for us, we had that for everybody else.

The Kyle treatment program helped Doc by providing tools for “making it” in society.

Doc explained the experience provided socialization through learning rules and consequences. Treatment operated on a client driven system. It directly involved clients in daily operation of the treatment program. Doc remembered a basic motto: “‘YAGM – BAGM’ (Your Ass Gonna Mind – Because My Ass Gonna Mind)”. This concept and basic rules/laws provide the foundation that a society requires or a moral home requires, according to Doc.

Doc explained that “Kyle was client-driven.” All clients held daily work assignments, attended, and attended group and twelve step meetings. “We actually ran the place. All the counselors did was tell the coordinators what they wanted done and then we figured it out and got it done.”

Another tool gained from treatment included “getting into the program.” Doc says “treatment” differs from “the program.” “Treatment is a place and time where you deal with addictive behaviors, recover personal history, identify triggers of substance abuse, and learn prevention strategies.” Treatment included an introduction to the program. The program involves commitment to living life one day at a time through a twelve-step program such as AA (Alcoholics Anonymous), NA (Narcotics Anonymous), or CA (Cocaine Anonymous). Though it begins during treatment, the program lasts after release from treatment. “I go to AA.... In there it says, ‘This program cannot fail!’”

Since that winter day in 1993 the program worked for Doc due to his commitment to it – a program that is fundamentally a spiritually oriented.

I was ready to go to a higher step, which was from in-prison and behavior modification to a spiritual modification out here. Whether it was church, AA, NA, CA.... whatever it might be. For me.... all of us have a higher power of some kind. This was a spiritual awakening.

Doc added that he practices spirituality through AA, his family relationships, his work, participation in church, and (for the past ten years) Kairos Ministries – a prison ministry program.

Doc recovered his personal history, memories of abuse and the reactions to create addictive behaviors. He affirms a fundamental notion of a “disease concept” of addiction. Like living with diabetes, there is no “cure” – a life-long condition. He explained how substance abuse suppressed feelings. Common feelings related to addiction included: denial, anger, fear, low self esteem, I’m bad, don’t feel. Addictive behaviors arose in reaction to the dysfunction of crime, drugs, and family violence. The addictive behavior filled the place of the pain in his life. But Doc made it clear: “There’s nobody to blame for my choices.... It’s my responsibility no matter what’s happened to me, that’s no excuse.” Be responsible. Take control of life. Deal with addiction and live without substance abuse. YAGM – BAGM!

Doc became energized as he elaborated upon his journey. “At Kyle people got in my face and confronted me on things I didn’t want to accept.” One such person was Wyatt Earp. Though Doc met others and forged relationships that continued after Kyle, the relationship with Wyatt Earp grew to particular significance. “He wanted us to be

responsible and for that I have so much respect for this man,” Doc commented with conviction. Doc and Wyatt became the foundation of a small support group of IPTC and Substance Abuse Felony Punishment (SAFP) recovering addict-parolees involved in the field of substance abuse counseling.

Another realization made at Kyle helped launch Doc into the substance abuse counseling as a profession. “People kept telling me that I had a gift at helping people see things about themselves.” Doc decided to take classes to become a Licensed Chemical Dependency Counselor (LCDC).

Graduation and completion the IPTC program included a commencement ceremony. Governor Ann Richards attended. “She handed out the certificates and actually shook hands with us cons.... God, we felt great when the governor did that!” Doc had his picture taken shaking hands with the governor of Texas while he received his certificate.

I then asked Doc how he was paroled to the Houston area. He said that all IPTC graduates were required to complete a ninety-day program in a state certified treatment house as a condition to parole. That day came on August 18, 1993 and it brought him to Texas House on Beaumont Highway on Houston’s east side. Doc managed to establish a savings account, gain employment, and secure housing – all required of parolees by the state of Texas. Doc used gestures and spoke with emotion as he explained how his pursuits in higher education led to employment.

After I was out I got my LCDC and finished my A.S. at Houston Community College. Dr. Blaire hired me as her student assistant. That was my first job on the outside. That really meant something to me.... that HCC and Dr. Blaire would hire me, an ex-con, for a

position with the college. It made me feel just great. Like, man! I couldn't believe it!

I was fascinated that Doc, after long-term incarceration, had “made it” in transitioning to life on the outside. So I asked: “What difficulties do parolee-addicts face when during transitioning to the outside?” Doc’s disposition became more serious as he pondered a response. Eventually he elaborated on conditions facing many long-term convicts paroled to the outside and their emotional responses to those circumstances.

Now, we get out.... we got 90 days in a halfway house to get every damn thing were supposed to have. You can't do it! You *can't* do it. We were sposed to have jobs, homes, savings accounts, and positive peer structure. It's just not realistic. The only people that contacted me since I've been out are dope dealers.

Doc quickly sited several obstacles IPTCs or any parolee encountered. Employers hesitated at the prospect of hiring ex-cons – no job. Texas law prohibited parolees from entering into lease agreements – no apartment – no home. No money means no car in Houston – a city with a meager mass transit system. You're stuck and without a savings account. This resulted in feelings of great anxiety and futility on the part of many parolees. Doc added, “Turning a crime [executing a crime] in a way made sense, because you could make easier money and if you got caught, you got sent back.”

Recidivating (re-arrest and imprisonment) guarantees a con three meals a day and a place to sleep. “Some feel if you can't make it on the outside, you can go back on the inside,” adds Doc. Institutionalization exacerbated the problem through insulating cons from the responsibility and knowledge of securing food and shelter. Addictive behaviors thrive on the inside. Hooch (home made prison alcohol) is make and distribute while

addicts feed habits almost uninterrupted – all made possible through corruption within the TDCJ, Doc inserts.

Doc experienced the images of relapse and prison in his years as a counselor. “Relapse (return to substance abuse) and recidivism are so close for us.... because if you relapse, you usually wind up recidivating,” said Doc. It can happen slowly and snowball. “People start making excuses and what they do is get away from the people they know and know what they are.” Doc claimed the next behaviors usually manifest in the forms of deception, isolating from other people in the program. They will start saying that they don’t need meetings or their sponsors. “It’s a domino effect – If you don’t do one, all the rest will start falling away till nothing’s left but that big old hole that something’s got to fill.” Docs warned of numerous “triggers” or stimuli that initiate addictive behavior that fills that void or hole.

People make money their god.... or make a woman their higher power or whatever it happens to be. It’s just stupid. Pink n green – the number one and number two relapse triggers for everybody. Women and sex.... Money and sex.... Relations and sex. At the same time, it’s not like they got pulled down. They jumped into the hole. They wanted to fall!

According to Doc’s experience, drugs and alcohol fill that hole the best. However, when an addict resumes using, he/she forfeits a vital experiential component of their lives: their sobriety. “Sobriety means remaining free of chemical substances and keeping a clear head,” said Doc. Sobriety enables people to make sound decisions rather than make bad choices while under the influence.

Again, it goes to the days, weeks and years of sobriety.... from that you learn your real self instead of the self you were when you were involved in drugs and criminal behavior. From there

most of us need to learn coping skills mostly it's anger management Without sobriety, choices often lead to illegal behavior. Doc's insight explained the causation higher recidivism among drug addicts.

The deceptiveness of the disease compounds the possibilities for relapse from sobriety. "I've seen men with ten – fifteen years of sobriety think they're in control and then they relapse. We think we're in control and that's when the trouble begins." Some try to "go it alone" and end up in rehab. Doc insists on the need of the power of the meeting and the help of a sponsor to make it.

"Making it." How, then, was Doc able to make such a total transformation? I asked, in terms established by his community – the treatment community. I asked Doc, "How did you and others like you go about making it?"

Doc took only a second to ponder the question and answered that it required reorientation to living the vision of life shared through the experience of treatment community (twelve-step orientation): "I stay focused on what's really important – God – the program – me – my wife – and then my job," said Doc. It means that we must admit that we are the problem and that we are responsible for our actions. "There's nobody to blame for my choices.... It's my responsibility no matter what happened to me, that's no excuse," added Doc. Rugged commitment, determination, adherence to schedules and routines, all buttressed by group support, empowered Doc and others make it. "I hold to the disease concept of addiction – like havin diabetes – ya have it for life." Doc typified this level of commitment with this illustration:

Also, for us, it's the way we work our programs. I have a sponsor. My key is to meet with my sponsor as often as I need to; make my

meetings; maintain a spiritual life; avoid traps and risky behaviors. I've had five or six parole officers this past few months, but I still made all my meetings when I'm supposed to. I check in with parole when I go out of state. These are some things I do. People know I stick to these. The dopers, they don't want to stick around me now cause everybody knows I've got the fastest 911 fingers in the west.

The program and treatment helped reorient behavior to avoid pitfalls. Doc explained that although *I* am the source of the problem, the *behavior* is actually the problem – not the person. Maintain positive behavior and set new goals. Doc explained:

There's a million different reasons to go and relapse. What good will it do me to be in five years, ten years back in a prison cell or dead? None! Tell your friends in prison "see ya, don't wanna be ya." Whatever it takes.

Doc added that goals help him plan a future. He has education goals and recently he became owner of a gecko. "It's a leopard gecko and it'll live for thirty years. Now I've got something to live for...I got a gecko!"

This begged me to ask Doc, "How does working as a substance abuse counselor help you "work the program?" He responded by recalling his experience as a new construction electrician in Alabama a couple years ago. "The money was great, but the people working there involved themselves in drugs, alcohol, and other risky behavior, so I quit." Doc returned to Houston, eventually started work at Texas House as an LCDC, and took a huge pay cut. The decision represented a change to the profession he wanted, signified a lifestyle centered in the program, and preserved Doc's sobriety. The trade was priceless.

We decided this was a good stopping point and set a date and location for another meeting. After agreeing upon a date Doc's apartment was selected as the best meeting place.

The spring breeze came in from the Gulf on the late in the spring-like Texas afternoon. Another car ride to the Galleria area but this time things are different. I drove to Doc's apartment accompanied by my wife to a dinner engagement with Doc and Kate Holiday – Doc's invitation. The prospect made me nervous. Several of *Murphy's Laws* flashed across my mind. Fortunately my wife (also a counselor) struck up a pleasant conversation with Kate and a congenial relationship was established by the end of dinner. This permitted Doc and me to retire to the living room of the apartment for our conversation.

Doc's apartment was warmly decorated in western and Texas décor. An appealing combination of family photos, a Texas flag, a barbed wire, photos of Texas Hill Country, and rodeo artifacts accentuate the apartment. Doc and Kate are avid antique collectors and their treasures of Texicana are intriguing to encounter. The interior provided an inviting atmosphere for our conversation.

I couldn't help initiating the conversation by asking Doc about successful IPTCs – those who "made it." "Doc, the state keeps recidivism records based on arrests. Are any records or stories kept that deal with positive accomplishments of IPTCs or parolees?"

Doc shook his head and responded with an immediate "no." His comment included contributions made to the IPTC program and to the treatment after Kyle. First Doc explained that addict parolees gained vision from the contributions of Wyatt Earp, Governor Richards, Lieutenant Governor Bob Bullock, Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse (TCADA) President Ted Sellers, and the clients in Kyle gave vision. He

described vision as exemplary accomplishment, a kind of paradigmatic model, which inspired hope for change in others.

I watched Wyatt Earp since the day he got out. He got out before I did. He has followed that vision every day of his life. Fulfilling what TCADA and the governor wanted us to do....to continue to build peer support....to continue to be positive. That plan has not altered. That is *awesome*! [After conversing with Doc for several hours I found he reserved the superlative “awesome” for people or achievements that are unmistakably extraordinary].

Doc explained how Wyatt Earp established *The Winner’s Circle* – a parolee driven support organization. The Winner’s Circle provides support, sponsors, telephone lists, community improvement work, and raises self-esteem for parolees and addicts. It deals with aftercare issues and support beyond the ninety days in the treatment center. Through the efforts of Wyatt and other dedicated parolees, the organization spread to every major city in Texas since 1992.

Doc turned the topic to relapse and recidivism and Doc referred to a Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) report I supplied him. After looking over data sets from the *Three Year Tracking of Offenders Participating in Substance Abuse Treatment Programs*, Doc responded with a surprising note of optimism. The study reported that the 1993 IPTC graduates recidivated at a rate of 34% after thirty-six months of release! Yet Doc interpreted the results as *positive* in spite of the *negative* numbers highlighted in the CJPC report. Doc used his support group to illustrate CJPC’s “positive report” and to underscore his previous forewarning about the dangers of social isolation of addicts in the drift toward relapse.

I’m surprised that so many of us, according to TDCJ, are still out –we of the In Prison Therapeutic Community. I’m glad to hear

of other probationers. Me an Wyatt Earp.... That's the only two that stay in touch. Dutch is out.... he come out of IPTC. Diamond Jim's out.... he's not part of my group any more. Lucky disappeared. Mojo's back in prison. Morgan's back in prison. Louie's in jail. What I found is....people drift away from the program or from the support group they have. They no longer have structure.... accountability. Cause no one's gonna call them on their shit. In our group that's exactly what we did.... Until everybody started drifting away.

Doc dramatically summarized the issue: "Most of us are in jail, in prison, back on the streets, dead, or just 'fell through the cracks.'" [Disappeared]

Doc explained that a number of people composed a new support network. This included his wife, his grandson, other family members, and Ray Hill. Hill is a prison rights advocate who hosts "The Prison Show" on KPFT Radio in Houston. Ray, an x-con, a leading figure in the Houston gay community, and an addict in recovery, initiated several lawsuits against TDCJ over the years. Ray's prison show broadcasts reached Doc at the Darrington Unit. Ray provided moral support, offered help in the process of adjusting to life on the outside, and "acted as my mentor," according to Doc. "He's been out and sober for twenty five years."

Doc and Wyatt Earp remained particularly close. Wyatt was a peer-counselor at Kyle and the one who led Doc to confront the problems of addictive behavior. "He wanted us to be responsible and that is why I have so much respect for this man," said Doc. Doc looked very serious and whispered "and he's done it for eleven years and that's *awesome!*" Wyatt is *awesome!* Doc, Wyatt, and Dutch are the remnant of the original support network.

Doc returned to the CJPC report and expanded the scope of his explanation of recidivism rates to include TCADA (the state office in charge of licensure and payment

to providers – licensed therapeutic centers). Doc believed the report reflected political opinion – even the numbers.

First, there's more addicts than that. If a guy is a user and he's caught possessing coke and firearms, he gets charged for the firearms violation and the drug possession charge gets dropped. The same goes for drug possession and assault, burglary, robbery. This means there's far more addicts than TDCJ wants to admit.

The CJPC report moved Doc's attention to issues associated with the relation between the professionals in the therapeutic community, TCADA, and Texas politics. Doc's disposition changed to one of frustration as he elaborated on issues which raised the ire of his community. Doc said treatment (IPTC and SAFP) and the therapeutic centers (licensed halfway houses) under TCADA was a vision *in process*, not a finished work.

TCADA ran the treatment in prison when it started in officially in 1992. When TC began in Texas, no criminal thinking classes were taught. Everything was drugs n alcohol. Clients were supposed to be there cause of drugs n alcohol. What Texas found out in late 1992 was that a lot of alcoholics and addicts were criminals before anything else. If ya sober up a horse thief ya got a sober horse thief. Change to fix the problem.

Doc pointed out that TCADA worked with a therapeutic community that was only in existence since 1991. He insisted it was in its infancy. "It's got a long way to go.... It's not a quick fix." Even with the non-existence of aftercare facilities, recidivism rates reflected the 1993-1996 period demonstrated the growth and adjustment of TCs and TCADA said Doc.

Doc spoke with intensity as we addressed the issue of Texas politics in treatment. TCADA and treatment became the epicenter. At first things went well. "Under Governor

Richards we had a vision of what treatment was in the process of becoming.” The early system utilized client input to the governor and TCADA.

I would meet with Governor Richards and I would meet – not just me, but Wyatt Earp and several others. You know. They’d sit us down and we could say “I think this or that.” Ted Sellers [TCADA] said: “y’all are in these cells. Are you ready to do something? Are you ready to become part of the solution instead of the problem?”

Then Doc said things changed with the departure of Ann Richards from office.

“How did they change,” I asked? “Back to the old ways,” said Doc.

First TCADA lost control of the in prison TC to TDCJ and Bush in 1995. The state say That TCADA’s books are funny, so Bush steps in and takes it over.... What a joke. Come to find out that the problem with TCADA is providers – contractors not honoring contracts.... And guess what? TDCJ was the biggest one to default and then Bush lets them take over TCADA.....*POLITICS!*

A fundamental premise of the therapeutic community is “treatment – not punishment.”

Doc bitterly charged, “They turned all around since 1995.” He said TDCJ’s influence on treatment goes beyond the operation at Kyle. “They cut the budget and killed lots of IPTC programs.” Doc picked up his verbal intensity as he hammered his case like an impassioned lawyer and added further condemning political changes. “They now require us to report anybody who relapsed to parole... we don’t do it we loose our license!” Counselors resigned.

The outrage continued. Doc said IPTC and SAFP were originally intended for low income, chronically addicted persons. Since 1999 the character of SAFP changed.

Ya go to any TDCJ unit and ya see 75%-80% minorities... What do I see now working with SAFP probationers? - 45% white and they ain’t poor!” white suburban population holds the financial resources

to afford lawyers. Lawyers then arrange for SAFF time with the DA rather than prison time.

According to Doc, This meant another turn from the vision that treatment started with in 1992.

Doc suddenly tempered the tone of the criticism regarding TDCJ. “TDCJ, with all its faults.... Those of us that grab hold of what they have to offer and don’t look back” Doc assumes the system is broken.

I don’t blame the system. It’s not the system’s fault. They’re trying to fix something. Who broke it? How it got broke? When it got broke? Where it got broke? But they [politicians] expect to fix the Goddamn thing. That’s insane.... That’s insane.

I asked, “What do you do in response to the situation?” Doc immediately said that the situation was beyond his control and the program says to turn it over to a higher power. Again, the response: work the program.

I turned the conversation from the turmoil caused by politics in Doc’s community – the therapeutic community, to Doc’s success today. “What are the big things in your world as 2002 draws to an end, I asked?” Besides a year of sobriety, Doc disclosed that he took a position as Director of an out-patient clinic run by a prominent Houston Doctor on Westheimer. “Besides, it’s close to our apartment and if it makes Kate happy, I’m happy.” Doc reminded me of the importance he places on his relationship with Kate.

Doc was definitely “getting his name around in the community.” This included an interview with Mother Jones Magazine to be published in December 2002. “It was about *Texas Prison Radio*, so they interviewed me when they interviewed Ray Hill.”

Doc then said “KUHF-TV8 just did a documentary piece on me sponse to be on some time in January 03.”

Doc saved a big piece for last. He successfully completed several months of therapy that placed his hepatitis C in remission. His liver is healthy in spite, of heavy alcohol and IV drug abuse. “In 1993 I started living and I am thankful for each day.” Doc’s commitment to the program and community saved his life. He established relationships. Grew professionally. Doc wryly added, “and now I have another thirty years and besides, I have a gecko!”

Wyatt Earp

I drove to New Directions therapeutic treatment center to talk with Wyatt Earp about “making it” in society as a parolee and a recovering addict. Even in Houston, December brings an early sunset and by 5 o’clock long cold shadows were cast on the inner city landscape. The treatment center, like nearly all TCADA licensed centers, was located in the urban frontier. The contemporary frontier encompasses the urban zone mired in poverty. Evident are the contrasting polarities of order and chaos, law and crime, health and sickness, life and death.

The drive into the neighborhood foreshadowed events to unfold. I passed numerous junkyards, auto parts places, pawnshops, and tattoo joints along North Sheppard. Figures in oversized Starter, FUBU, or military trench coats swaggered along the roadside. The addition of wool ski hats, scarves, and other cold weather clothing made them appear more apparition-like than human. As the wind blew, the figures clutched their scarves and cringed to shield against the frigid bluster.

I reached the center, parked, and walked to the front entrance. My course passed a man carrying a fatigue jacket. He was busy trying to wrap an ace bandage on an arm. A client, I thought. I passed through an impressive iron gate at the street entrance, passed through the main doorway, and entered the lobby.

The receptionist, Lucile, an African American woman in her thirties, asked me to sign-in and asked the nature of my business. I introduced myself and told her I had an appointment with Wyatt Earp. She said that Wyatt would be occupied for several minutes and that I could have a seat in the lobby.

The lobby was decorated for Christmas. I looked through the back lobby window and noticed five large buildings that formed an enclosed campus environment at the New Directions Center. However, events unfolding at the front of the building caught my attention. These activities eventually developed into a small dramatic vignette of street life meeting therapeutic community compassion.

The man who had re-wrapped his arm with the ace bandage entered the lobby and approached Lucile. She said, "Roderick, what you doin here?" Why ain't you in treatment?

Roderick, a middle aged, very underweight, African American man said he was there "ta see Miss Carol fo some help." "What kinda help? You know we not spoze ta give out money." Roderick denied the implied accusation and Lucile informed him that Miss Carol was on duty and would not be available. He could "sit in the lobby and wait with the *other gentleman*." Roderick sat directly across the table from me for fifteen minutes. His eyes never met mine. He looked toward the lobby or off into space.

His appearance was disturbing to me. He was terribly unwashed and underdressed for the winter freeze: light weight plaid pants, a Houston Oilers tee shirt, and tennis shoes with no sox. The most shocking aspect of his appearance was his right arm. A large portion of skin was missing from his wrist to his elbow and pink flesh was completely exposed to the open air. His face yielded similar but less serious injuries above the eyebrows. His left arm was completely bandaged. He occasionally fidgeted and rocked, rubbed the injured arm, and fiddled with the bandage. His eyes took flight to some trusted place in emptiness where he took sanctuary.

Soon, Carol entered the lobby and said, "Roderick, you've come back to see me?" Carol, was a very professionally dressed African American woman in her late thirties. Her facial features and voice tone communicated genuine concern as she conversed with Roderick. "What on earth happened to you?"

Pointing to the bandaged arm he said, "Oh, I got a job doin roofin and I hit my hand and stabbed it with the roofin tool. They bandaged it at the clinic"

Carol said, "But both arms are hurt and above your eyes.... What happened?"

"Oh, I got burned but they won't take me this time if I don't get no help."

Carol gave a very stern look and said, "First of all, how did you manage to burn just one arm and the area above your eyes?"

Roderick looked at the floor and stammered. He eventually blurted out. "I's woikin on my friend's car and the carburetor blew up. Now they won't help me at the clinic unless somebody help me."

Carol stepped toward him and asked that he look directly at her. She confronted Roderick about his behavior: “Roderick, Cars don’t have carburetors anymore and we both know *the clinic is free!*” She then said, “If you want help, we can help.” She added that it meant that Roderick would have to return to treatment. In doing so he could get medical attention, food, clothing, and a place to sleep. Roderick responded by saying “I’m goin just great living on the streets.” Carol’s expressions became more somber as she walked to Roderick and “got in his face” (brought her face within inches of his) and minced no words in identifying the problem.

Tell me what I see? I see a man who says he stabbed one arm and burned the other arm doing God knows what. You? Doing good? You know what I see Roderick? I see a man headed for the graveyard. I’ll register you as a client in less than five minutes, but I will not give you five dollars for you to continue to kill yourself. That said, Roderick turned, mumbled, and passed through the front door back to the streets.

Later, I discussed the incident with Wyatt. Wyatt said, “He was most likely a ‘user’ [substance abuser] that came in looking to ‘run a con’ [trick] for some easy money.” After hearing about Roderick’s burned arm and face staff and clients alike concluded that he had an accident while freebasing cocaine. Wyatt explained that the treatment center used to have women come in with sick and starving kids. “We’d give them money and then find out that every dime went for crack.” That’s why Wyatt and the leadership passed a rule: no cash handouts for anyone for any reason.

Wyatt’s experience showed in this matter. When the interview ended I exited through the front door. And there along the street sat Roderick. He started to rewrap his burned arm with the ace bandage he had on the other arm that was supposedly stabbed in

a roofing accident. He had removed the ace bandage from the burned arm and wrapped it on his uninjured arm in the hope of running a con.

This was the first time I met Wyatt Earp. Wyatt stands six feet two inches tall. A quiet, even-tempered African American man in his late forties, he acted and spoke from the years of experience in drugs, crime, prison, and recovery. Later, he told me that his quiet demeanor and stability were recovered from his small town origins in Orange, Texas.

Wyatt suggested we go to his office for our conversation. His office was actually the boardroom so we had plenty of room to get comfortable. Wyatt sat in his leather office chair leaned forward on the large table and said, “Makin it. You want to talk about makin it on the outside?” He then smiled, looked upward, and then leaned back in his chair. “OK, makin it. Where shall we start?”

Wyatt addressed issues from the depth of his experience. Low key was the way to describe Wyatt. Dorothy Parker’s line that he/she “runs the gamut of emotions from A to B” seemed applicable for Wyatt at first impression. This was incorrect. As our conversation progressed and time passed, my awareness of Wyatt’s emotional scope and depth increased. Like a freight train, he started slow, carried a heavy load, and once in motion moved with momentum. Every passing minute revealed tremendous depth of character. His language was un-muted, direct, and flavored with the diction of African American culture. However, his words and emotions indicated total commitment to the IPTC program, to the therapeutic community, and to the program. Only a few themes generated greater emotional response. The account of his actions powerfully illustrated

his ideas. In the words of the AA expression, “He talked the talk and walked the walk.” – words backed by action. His demeanor remained friendly and engaging through the duration of our conversations. Wyatt was an intelligent, informed conversationalist.

I initiated the conversation by stating, “You told me on the phone that you are not from Houston. Where is your home town?”

“A small town on the Texas – Louisiana border. Orange, Texas.” Wyatt grew up in a middle class family that included two brothers and three sisters. His mother and siblings now live in Houston. Wyatt’s family lacked the dysfunctions like drugs abuse and violence commonly associated with an addict’s families of origin.

His abuse of alcohol began during his sophomore year in high school. By the end of the next year, he became a heavy marijuana user. Heavy pot use and experimentation with pills (uppers and downers) directly contributed to Wyatt’s decision to drop out of high school in his senior year. By 1970 he was out of school and established a heroine habit that amounted to five years of heavy use. “I beat heroine ‘cold turkey’ [withdrawal without clinical help] and remained drug free for six months.” He then turned to cocaine, his drug of choice until 1989.

Wyatt gave a candid account of his prison experience starting with a sentence on theft charges in Louisiana in 1972. Wyatt shook his head and chuckled, “That was a six month ‘Scared Straight Program’ that just didn’t work.” Wyatt entered Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) on a theft charge and spent 1979 to 1982 at the Darrington Unit. He was back inside from 1984 to 1986, released and back inside in 1988. “This time it carried an automatic life sentence cause it was ‘three strikes.’ three

convictions mean automatic life sentence.” Wyatt attributed the cause of each theft conviction to the need for money to feed his drug habit.

“What happened to get you turned around” I asked.

Wyatt elaborated on his momentous life change

I was in Jester III Unit in 1988 serving a life term. After I was there for six month, they reduced my term to twenty-five years. After another year and a half, they reduced it to two years. I was then sent to Kyle for prerelease. One day they asked for fifty volunteers to enter substance abuse rehabilitation program.

The opportunity for sentence reduction coincided with his desire to break the arrest cycle and to “get a life.” He discussed his situation with an old inmate. This led to Wyatt’s decision to enter the treatment program. A spiritual awakening resulted.

I asked Wyatt what it was like transitioning into the new rehabilitation program.

He said at first he profoundly regretted his decision.

I felt secure in prison. There everything was done for you.... Everything taken care of. Entering treatment and recovery meant ‘dealin’ with issues. I remember when people confronted me about me and what I did – my drugs and my crimes. I was the source of my problems.

I then asked Wyatt how he initially reacted to this new experience. He gladly elaborated on the emotions that confrontation evoked as he recollected memories of 1991. This became a gateway experience for a decision to change.

I remembered thinking that all this recovery was bullshit. All of these people saying they were there for me. People talking about their new and better lives. I was angry at all of them but it didn’t matter. They had all been there in that same place where I was at that time. They weren’t there getting something out of this for themselves. They were giving a gift. It was a free gift. That’s when a change came. The change came that made me decide right then and there that I didn’t want to do drugs or commit a crime again.

Wyatt has maintained his commitment since 1991 living one day at a time – talking the talk and walking the walk. As a long term convict and addict, Wyatt achieved a remarkable accomplishment in surmounting the ravages of his addiction. But what Wyatt revealed next made his treatment and recovery from drug addiction seem even more extraordinary.

This began when I asked him how the Kyle program was organized when he arrived.

Wyatt replied that the program was not in place upon his arrival in 1991 when Wackenhut Corrections Corporations held the contract for treatment at Kyle.

Four counselors were sent to New York City and Chicago to the “Staying Out Program” to learn the system. They came back to Texas and were unable to implement it into the creation of a new Texas program. So clients and counselors started the program. I was one of the first fifty. He quickly added that he began the program in 1991 but the state *officially* started IPTC in February of 1992.

If clients and counselors initiated the program, what was Wyatt’s role? Wyatt, now speaking with a degree of levity, clarified the query in short order. “We came up with a structure. Counselors and clients worked out of necessity.” They developed a structure and gave Wyatt a job as Senior Coordinator. Wyatt’s job involved acting as a go-between for staff and clients at orientation.

And how long was Wyatt at Kyle before this all transpired? Wyatt smiled, chuckled to himself, and leaned back into his chair and then supplied an answer: “The first week!” The room fell silent. I was stunned. Then Wyatt broke the silence and provided an additional surprise: “I worked this and did recovery at the same time.”

Wyatt's frank conversation prompted me to inquire the names of the most influential Kyle staff leaders who directed the "first fifty" IPTC clients. "Shirley Livingston came from Florida as counselor and program director. She was a big help." Wyatt, like Doc Holiday, provided a favorable evaluation of the warden at Kyle: "John Bonner was the Warden and he was treatment friendly." I asked what he meant by "treatment friendly." Wyatt clarified the term to mean that Warden Bonner was philosophically committed to treatment rather than punishment the Kyle Unit.

The system required client input and participation in the daily routine of operation.

This was a client-run treatment community. It required that we all participated in the daily work required to maintain the operation of the unit. They'd tell us 'here's what you' all need.' It was then up to coordinators to figure out how something was to be done and it was the clients to carry out all of this. It worked and we were all part of it. In that way we ran the program

Clients lived in pods, worked specific jobs, attended classes, and attended other assigned functions. "In my job, I went to the counselors with problems that the clients had in adjusting in the new program. I helped the counselors work out the problems with other coordinators."

By now Wyatt was expressively occupied in our conversation and in his topic. He became animated as he explained how rapid change in treatment conditions at Kyle added greater responsibilities, challenges, and new relationships.

We were there thirty days and the treatment program expanded from fifty to include another four hundred and fifty. They had gone way up with assessments. Lots of these guys weren't screened and some of them didn't want treatment.

“So what steps did the warden take to resolve the problem,” I asked. Wyatt said B-Block was established.

B-Block was reserved for hard cases, the stubborn. We called them B-Block rebels. Doc Holiday was one of them. He was on B-Block.

I was about to hear how Wyatt Earp met Doc Holiday. Wyatt said he was one of six counselors picked to work B-Block. “When I was assigned to B-Block, I was assigned to Doc Holiday.” This made me wonder how a man so new to treatment could deal with a long term violent convict like Doc Holiday – a man with twenty five years of prison, just as many years of drug abuse, and two known hits to his credit. I asked Wyatt how he approached Doc.

I approached him the same way they approached me. I got in his face! Kept driving that this treatment is an opportunity to change. It doesn’t cost. Or if you want TDCJ, we can call a bus and take you back. It was his decision. Eventually this is what Doc decided. He was responsible. He could change. Here’s the opportunity.

It then hit me. I was conversing with the man that contributed a huge part in saving, or may well have saved, the life of Doc Holiday. Wyatt’s narrative of spiritual awakening and working with Doc triggered memories of my days in seminary when I studied the concept *agape* – love. First, Wyatt experienced a spiritual awakening and pursued spirituality through working “the program.” Also, just as others labored to save Wyatt from addiction, Wyatt freely gave time and effort to reach Doc, without expectancy of recompense. This brought to mind *agape* and the famous scriptural quote associated with it:

You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all

your soul, and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like it, You shall love your neighbor as yourself. On these two commandments depend all the law and prophets" (Matt. 22:37-40; cf. Mark 12:2-31; Luke 10:26-27).

As Wyatt proceeded with the conversation he drew from folk terms within the linguistic domain. I needed clarification on a few frequently used terms. I asked Wyatt, "Could you help me understand what you mean when you talk about treatment, recovery, the program, and therapeutic community?"

I always associated treatment as the place or time you learn about your illness and start on the road to healing. You enter into recovery in treatment when you deal with your past and accept responsibility for your actions.... Explore the abuse issues from the past and the source of the addictions. For me I entered the program, AA, during treatment at Kyle and I never stopped. The program helps provide spirituality, structure, and connection to others that don't drug. This all began with the opportunity offered by treatment. The program is the right track you choose to get on. Therapeutic community means everybody dealing with addiction. Really it's everyone in recovery and in the practice of counseling. Treatment saved my life.

Wyatt's clarification of the common folk terms paralleled the meaning to the same folk terms provided by his friend, Doc Holiday. After relating this to Wyatt, he nodded his head in approval and concluded that the phenomenon resulted due to their shared experience at the Kyle Unit in the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) Program.

While at Kyle, Wyatt resumed and completed his secondary education (He started his GED at Darrington as a way to keep clear of the gang violence that plagued that unit during the early to mid 1980s). "When you were in the school, you knew you were lifted out of that stinkin prison...just for a little time each day" He earned his GED through Windham School District and pursued Licensed Chemical Dependency Counselor

(LCDC) and business classes through Southwest Texas State until release. “They always treated you better in the school and it was a break from the prison.” Wyatt remembered how he felt the day of release on November 30, 1992.

I was bussed from Kyle to the Walls Unit in Huntsville for processing for release. You just wait there for the paperwork. Your mind starts to play tricks. *MAN!* You start thinking what screw-up will happen to keep you in? Are you really going to go home?

He recalled the strangeness of events when he walked through the prison gates at 11:30 AM that November day. The first situation Wyatt faced was to find a place to transition. Transition centers were located only in major cities at that time.

I decided to go to Houston – to New Directions Transition Center. But the bus left at 9:00 AM. And the next one left for Houston at 5:00 PM. There were these guys in Huntsville that would give you rides to Houston for \$35. I told one “I’ll pay you \$50 if you take me to the front door of New Directions.”

I inquired why he chose Houston and New Directions. The law required that he transition at one of several state centers. Wyatt explained that people in the therapeutic community noticed his work at Kyle and new plans for the treatment center required a person with his experience. Wyatt became a “Peer Counselor” and was provided latitude for running the program. This included an immediate orientation to the job

I was given a blank sheet of paper. It said “Treatment Program” on it. I said, “What’s this?” They said, “Whatever you write it as.” It was total immersion. Originally there was a ninety-day program, no out patient, and no support. All that changed to include out patient and a support network. Out patient means that they check in. Support network helps coping with every day life, one day at a time. The network is just a phone call away. They get advice, jobs, and moral support.

Wyatt either assisted or directly created two therapeutic programs within two years. First, he helped create the program at Kyle, but the next effort at New Direction represented a solid solitary endeavor.

Wyatt's creative and organizational drive continued from New Directions. He pulled others together and developed a unique organization within the recovery and parolee community. He pointed out, "Our demographics, our census runs something like Substance Abuse Felony Punishment (SAFP): 50%, IPTC: 15%-20%, Parole: 15%-20%, and walk-ins: 5%-10%."

He recorded eleven years of service at New Directions as well as the creation of a parolee/addiction aftercare program that impacted the entire state. I asked Wyatt why he continued to work in the therapeutic treatment community.

I feel that I want to give back for so much of what I've done wrong to others. I feel good when I help others away from a life of drugs. This reaffirms my experience.

Wyatt made it clear that his daily work helped him maintain continuity with the program. However, he stated that he did things in addition to the daily job. The place that occupied much of his time after hours was the Winner's Circle. "So what is the Winner's Circle," I asked. Wyatt became visibly energized by the simple question and he gladly began to elaborate on the topic that had its roots in 1993. Initially Wyatt sought to check a source of relapse by dealing with the utter lack of aftercare beyond treatment. Based on models in other states, aftercare provides support after graduating from treatment and transitioning through the therapeutic treatment centers. TCADA and

Parole officials solicited Wyatt's help to improve aftercare, promote role modeling, and develop support networks for recovering addicts and parolees.

"I was given a pamphlet with 'Winner's Circle' on it. I asked 'where is it?'"

They said, "You're it."

"How did you go about setting up the Winner's Circle," I asked. Wyatt replied that he took the AA model of the therapeutic community, included ex-offender issues, and drew from the leadership of role model ex-cons and ex-users.

I was the co-founder of the Winner's Circle. We created it as a winner's peer-driven support net. The Winner's Circle provided role models and a pathfinder's resource to help find jobs. Members sponsored other clubs in the network to help others. We started in Houston and spread to fifteen cities in Texas. Winner's Circle draws from AA/NA models to change behavior through role models.

This accounted for the organization and goals of the Winner's Circle. But I desired to understand more about the process of transitioning and maintaining recovery for the addict parolee. Wyatt gave a candid response when asked.

They identify with others with similar experiences. The power is in the group. It gives affirmation and more affirmation – jobs, places to stay, support, a place to check in.

The Winner's Circle was a place they could call theirs. It was a place that they could share with their family and friends.

I pressed to understand the meaning of "check in." He explained that it was another way of saying that the addict parolee, or anyone, stays connected with the group. Wyatt emphasized the importance to guard against becoming isolated. Checking in means staying in touch – staying connected.

This clarified how the modeling process worked within the Winner's Circle. In spite of this success, TDCJ currently reports that Texas recidivates roughly 30% of its parolees. I asked Wyatt how he avoided recidivism and other addict parolees found their way back to TDCJ.

The question made him smile at first. Then after a short period of silence his mood became a bit serious as he spoke.

It took a conscientious decision that I learned at Kyle. I make an every day decision that I will not take drugs. I will not turn a crime. You choose your surroundings. You choose your company.

Wyatt described how staying connected with others helped him stay drug free and crime free: keep checking into meetings, staying in touch with Doc Holiday, attending church, being active in the community. So where did the others run afoul?

They stop going to group [meetings like AA]. They stop support. They stop their spiritual life and cut out the church. By then they become isolated. Isolation leads to old patterns, behaviors, and relations. This leads to relapse and recidivism.

Wyatt explained how the slide to recidivism works. The addict/parolee thinks everything "is going along in life just swell after treatment." Then, they decide to drop one thing, like going to meetings, and then another. They become isolated. "They don't want to face the fact that they are dealing with something that just ain't gonna go away. It's a disease."

Suddenly the room became quiet. Wyatt looked directly at me and said
By the way, Mike. There's something else I have to tell you. About the first fifty in the program. [Pause] I'm the only one.

“You’re the only one that did what,” I inquired. “I’m the only one that made it. All the rest are in prison or dead.” This was a shock. Wyatt said he looked for others, but only heard of the news or death and relapse.

At this point we both seemed exhausted from the length and emotional intensity of our conversation. We agreed to meet again at New Directions at a later date. Later, in the interim, I provided Wyatt a copy of *Three Year Tracking of Offenders Participating in Substance Abuse Treatment Programs*.

I maintained telephone contact with Wyatt over the next couple weeks and our appointment took several more weeks to schedule. It was on a warm day in May when we eventually met at New Directions for a 3:30 PM appointment. This time there were no interesting incidents in the lobby and Wyatt came to meet me in a matter of minutes.

Wyatt seemed quite eager to initiate the conversation regarding relapse and recidivism according to the findings found in the Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) report I supplied him. As soon as I finished asking for his reaction to the CJPC statistics on recidivism, he was ready to sprint into the issue. Wyatt was a closet number cruncher.

Wyatt rolled his eyes, shook his head, and initiated a spirited but reasoned case. Wyatt pointed out that the figures were inaccurate because the “initiative” (the law or authority that established IPTC) “was put together overnight.” IPTC and SAFP were still in development and faced staggering growth. Overwhelming growth, unscreened and uninterested clients, and lack of aftercare inflated the numbers in the recidivism columns according to Wyatt. “It was not until 1994-1995 that the aftercare system was in place to provide a continuum of care.” Wyatt asserted that quality aftercare facilities existed only

in major cities: Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio. IPTC and SAFP graduates traveled great distances to make meetings and to check in. Some made it to the Winner's Circle.

"It doesn't let them lose focus of what they got while in IPTC and SAFP."

I shifted the conversation in another direction and asked about the attrition rates in the IPTC classes from 1993 through 1995 according to the CJPC report. Wyatt was prepared.

They weren't ready. They were probably like I was. Cause when they first introduced me to the program, I had fear of it. I made up my mind that I was going back to prison. I was like everybody else until I sat down and thought about it. I needed to change my way of living or I was going to live the rest of my life – behind bars. So I decided to give the program a chance.

So many chose not to enter the treatment program. Wyatt acknowledged this and reminded me that many offenders shipped to Kyle were unscreened and many resisted any attempt at treatment.

If you start a program that helps an individual change their life, OK. But you take some of the worst individuals in the system and you mix them with individuals that are trying to change. It's the scenario of the bad apples. Warden Bonner bussed them back to TDCJ units to finish prerelease.

Wyatt explained that poor screening of inmates on the part of TDCJ and the lack of desire to enter and participate in treatment by inmates accounted for attrition in IPTC.

I asked Wyatt if he minded if we could revisit the subject of recidivism and he enthusiastically voiced his approval. It appeared that the state held interest only in negative records – recidivism rates. I wanted to know what TDCJ, CJPC, or any other state agency did that reflected positive results from IPTC and/or SAFP graduates.

Wyatt answered this by returning to two related issues that dominated much of our conversation: follow-up and the Winner's Circle. He leveled allegations that state officials failed to implement any follow-up. The state failed to include follow-up in any part of their system. He claimed that such a program required monitoring individuals for periods of six months, twelve months, three years, and six years. Texas utilized recidivism rates – negative numbers – to benchmark progress. His tone turned critical as he elaborated.

They didn't do a follow-up plan. Here is their follow-up: "are you out of jail?" OK, I could be out of jail but still be doing the wrong thing. The state says it doesn't have a place in the system to do that type of follow-up –Nor does it have the resources. They have the resources. They don't want to use the resources. They know how to utilize state money and state employees.

A follow-up plan could document positive results regarding transitioning into society. The Winner's Circle filled the void.

It was peer driven. It was something you could share with family and friends. And it gave them a sense of enjoyment, a sense of pride. It helped build self-esteem. And I think the success rate did pick up later on down the line.

Due to Wyatt's spirited retort, I felt like I struck an emotional iceberg. What other issues amplified this reaction? I asked for more clarification and Wyatt's tone turned more raucous.

There's a lot of IPTC graduates at the Winner's Circle that are successful. They are drawn to help rebuild the communities. They are caring. Helping and preaching that you can recover. Nobody. NO ONE looks at that. It's the stigmatism that's always portrayed.

I then asked if the lack of recognition is the issue. He responded by stating that we isolated only one issue associated with the problem. Wyatt agitated as he continued.

You get involved with the Winner's Circle. Then people in the community start seeing you different. But now Pardons and Paroles still see you as a Felon. There's no success with Pardons and Paroles. Why not show some of the success rate – some of the successful individuals that you have sentenced and what they're doing in the community today! You're on parole! Today it's still the same way. I see no change.

I said, "You appear frustrated with the situation state. How has it impacted you personally?" He passionately explained what he felt involved not only personal feelings, but feelings shared in the community through countless meetings.

I've been doing it right for eleven years. My name is known across the State of Texas – for what it's good for I'm not certain. Some ex-con steals a bubblegum and it's on the six o'clock news. That's all anyone hears.

The state did nothing to help bolster something needed by addicts and/or parolees: self-esteem. Institutions like the sensationalized driven media addressed only negative issues (crime) and further stigmatized groups with already low self-esteem.

Wyatt reiterated that the treatment initiative was a program in process. It met needs as conditions arose through the administrative direction of Texas Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse (TCADA). By 1995 the challenges posed by establishing treatment programs, getting therapeutic treatment centers on line, and providing aftercare, appeared contained. Then, TCADA changed management philosophy. Changes caused problems for the therapeutic community.

Wyatt informed me that TCADA originally had funding power. It paid the contracts to licensed therapeutic treatment centers. "They lost their funding – it went over

to TDCJ.” Wyatt charged TDCJ was unprepared to handle treatment and several clients became statistical casualties. But he made one point quite clear: “But now what I’m sayin is that you went from a treatment oriented organization, which was TCADA, to a correctional based program – which is TDCJ.” TDCJ’s purpose concentrated on corrections and that threw the organization in a skeptical light for Wyatt.

Wyatt’s criticism continued. Wyatt went on to say that TDCJ froze all expansion of IPTC units. TDCJ closed programs in other locations except Kyle. Now bed space for treatment is a factor. “You have about 4,500 people waiting in county jails to go to treatment in just two counties.”

Wyatt reported alarming, if not disturbing, changes in the SAFP program. In the early days of the initiative Wyatt saw numerous middle-aged clients in the program. Now he sees a young adult to middle aged client population in SAFP. Another of Wyatt’s issues involved race: “Once there was cultural diversity with treatment and now there is not as much balance as there was when it first started.” Wyatt said he and others observed that a balance once existed that represented the actual prison population. I asked Wyatt for the cause of the racial imbalance.

It’s like, you know, they started these drug courts. Now, you have your Caucasians. You have your African Americans. You have your Hispanics. Used to be the balance was like 30-35-35. Now it jumped to like 45-15-15. The Caucasians are 45.

I reacted in shock that such numbers stood in light of prison statistics showing far less than a 30% Caucasian incarcerated population. How was this possible?

Of course, Wyatt drew from his experience to explicate my way through the legal maze. He told me to remember, that money makes it work and that African Americans

are among the poorest groups in Texas. First, he said it began with lawyer's relationship with the bench in court.

The judge leans toward one of two things: Revoke probation and send them to TDCJ or the lawyer has the responsibility of coming up with an alternative. The alternative is you get treatment. So the lawyer makes a deal with the DA. They come to an agreement, take it to a judge, and *then they go to drug court*. The individual will be placed in treatment for a standard nine months. It's all orchestrated by the lawyer.

Wyatt seemed annoyed but less agitated over this issue than with the other shortcomings involving oversight in the system. "The point is, getting the word out. That's what I hope our conversations might do."

I directed the conversation toward his feelings toward the future of treatment in Texas. There had been administrative and political shocks since 1995. Before I could finish framing the question, Wyatt retorted that "thing are going to be the same." He shook his head and frowned as he reflected the philosophic-political change that impacted the therapeutic community. The governors since Ann Richards are no friends of treatment.

Bush says, "Lock them up and throw away the key." And this governor says the same thing. He's not saying anything about treatment. He's not addressing the issue. Treatment is the issue. He's not addressing it by locking him up and throwing away the key. Then let him out and it may take one day or it may take a year – they gonna go right back to it.

As Wyatt described the current landscape of therapeutic treatment, I wondered what conditions remained constant on the interaction with the addicted population. I told Wyatt that some interviewed respondents said that social skills and similar tools impacted the chances of recovery. Others placed greater emphasis on the need to choose. I asked

him for his perspective on these matters. I tried not to anticipate his answer. Like Doc Holiday, Wyatt emphasized choice. Without choice, the social tools are meaningless.

The choice is yours from the beginning. I can choose to do right or wrong. But now when I choose to do right or wrong, I need to know why I'm doing right or wrong. I need to know consequences of my actions.

Choice related to all aspects of Wyatt's life – past and present. Choice and conviction made his survival possible. I cannot emphasize the importance which he placed upon this precept.

It was nearly time to conclude our conversation. One question remained and it fit like a keystone between Wyatt's choice and conviction. I asked, "Wyatt, what does 'making it' mean to you?" Once again the smile returned to his face as he spoke.

For me making it means taking pride in yourself. It means mending bridges and making amends. It means to built community and be responsible for yourself in relationship to others.

With this statement Wyatt provided a compendium of redemption and countless possibilities as he affirms human will spiritual fellowship and community.

Dutch Hoffmeyer

Dutch lives with his wife in a comfortable one-story house in Highlands, Texas. This July morning I drove to Dutch's home east of Houston. The drive took me through Houston and then east on I-10 over the Houston Ship Channel and through the vast petrol-chemical facilities of Pasadena. In a short period of time I passed northern Galveston Bay and entered Highlands.

Upon taking the exit that Dutch included in his directions, several observations of the social environment became conspicuous. Though this was not a Starbucks kind of

neighborhood, Highlands yielded incredible vitality. Numerous truck stops, taquerias, vegetable stands, bait shops, and small shopping strip stores dotted both sides of the freeway and showed signs of brisk activity. Numerous billboards advertised products in Spanish.

I made Highlands with extra time – nearly forty minutes early. This afforded the opportunity to get a cup of coffee and kill time at the Thompson Road Truck Stop. Two cups of incredibly strong black coffee provided time to reveal social features of the truck stop microcosm of Highlands. A group of seven men appeared engaged in lively conversation in the restaurant. The racially mixed crowd discussed topics ranging from the size of deer in the Texas Hill Country to the approximate distance between El Paso and Highland. A congenial first name relationship existed among the small group. This discussion involved expert input from two white truckers, two Hispanic truckers, a Black Precinct Four Constable, and two Hispanic construction workers.

Eventually the group breaks up. They exchange good wishes with each other.

“See ya.” “Drive careful.” “Ramon, you be good!” “Damn, that’s no fun!” Laughs and good bys were exchanged. The men abruptly departed the small room in all directions like a freshly broken rack of billiard balls.

This signaled time to continue toward my appointment with Dutch. His home sits along a crossroad across from a railroad track and at the corner of a four way stop intersection of county roads. Large live oak trees shade the house and sizable lawn.

As I entered the driveway, Dutch came out to meet me. Dutch is in his mid thirties. His surname, Hoffmeyer, reflects his father’s German-American origins. Yet his slight

accent, brown skin, and dark features reflect the ethnicity of his mother's Hispanic descent. Dutch is Tex-Mex from Southeast Texas, born and raised.

He and Doc Holiday "went way back." However, Dutch rarely, if ever, made contact with Wyatt Earp. It became clear at this point that these two men, Wyatt and Dutch, represented parts of the human components that composed the support network for Doc Holiday. Taxonomic analysis of all subject's language continued as planned upon conclusion of interviewing Dutch. However, any personal history between Dutch and Wyatt now became a mute point.

Dutch grinned as he greeted me with a friendly hello. "Well Mike, we finally get to meet instead of talk over the phone." We sit on the front porch in the shade as locusts sing loudly and wind chimes gently ring in the warm breeze. Dutch gave me a couple hours, from about nine o'clock to eleven o'clock, for the interview. He planned a family get-together for his wife in honor of her birthday. After making introductions to his wife, Barbara, and several family members, we settled down and began our conversation. From that first meeting and even after several more, Dutch appeared gregarious, sincere, and willing to share his experiences in his own terms. He possessed an awareness to ask if I understood what he meant or if I comprehended the meaning of specific terms.

Dutch Hoffmeyer hailed from Richmond, Texas. Dutch's family included nine brothers and one sister as siblings. The family name generated a variety of social problems for Dutch and his brothers as they grew up as Mexican-Americans with the last name of Hoffmeyer in the middle of a Mexican neighborhood.

And in our neighborhood it was Rodriguez, Hernandez, Martinez...
...and we were the Hoffmeyer brothers! And we stood out from

everybody else. We didn't fit. We had that image.

According to Dutch, both he and his brothers established reputations that led to drugs and criminal activities.

This raised an immediate question dealing with the relationship between substance abuse and criminal behavior. So I asked, "Speaking from your experience, how does substance abuse and criminal behavior enter a person's life?"

"Well, in my case that's simple. In my case it was substance abuse." But he added that once addicted, a variety of types of destructive thinking, especially criminal thinking, laid his life to waste. Dutch started using drugs at age six. He explained that he and a friend went rabbit hunting in a wooded area. There they encountered an older boy who offered marijuana to the boys.

There was this guy we knew just sitting out there smoking some weed in a pipe. He offered me some. It was another guy from my neighborhood...he was fifteen. I took a little hit and to my amazement it was so satisfying. We smoked the whole ounce. So I trot back home *stoned as can beee*...six years old and smoked a whole ounce with two other people out of a pipe!

An interesting event transpired upon his return home. This event became a paradigm his mother's future behavior in her attempts to cope with substance abuse and dysfunction in the family. "My brother Carlos said, 'Ma, Dutch is high.'" She responded with total denial: "Don't you *ever* say that." She said that hunting in the woods exhausted Dutch and that he only needed a nap. This denial system held firm until Dutch entered the Texas Department of Criminal Justice on a nine year sentence for aggravated robbery.

Dutch indicated that substance abuse, a variety of criminal behavior, and an atmosphere charged with violence existed within his family. “The majority of my brothers would drink on a daily basis or they were shooting dope.” He remembered being punched and hit and never showing the hurt feelings. Dutch recalled the words of an old Credence Clearwater Revival song: “A man ain’t supposed to cry.” “Every weekend a fight broke out...not against neighbors...but in the family...brother against brother.” Years later in therapy at IPTC Lone Star at the Amarillo Unit, Dutch realized that the social environment involving his family of origin all but doomed him to follow the behavior modeled by his siblings. The negative family paradigms influenced nearly every aspect of his emotions and corresponding behavior from childhood through adult life.

Dutch chronicled events that impacted his life. At age thirteen Dutch’s mother took him to the hospital to find the cause of stomach pains. The doctor privately confronted Dutch about heavy drinking as a source for stomach ulcers. “I denied it at first, but eventually I told the truth. I drank straight vodka on an almost daily basis.” To prevent stomach discomfort, the doctor prescribed Demerol injections whenever Dutch needed pain relief. “I was in dope fiend heaven.”

Public education ended long before high school due to the anger and rebellious behavior Dutch brought to the classroom. He quit school in Richmond ISD in the 6th grade. His mother hoped a change of environment would help reform the rebelliousness that Dutch displayed in school. So, Dutch moved to California to live with his brother. This living arrangement lasted only eight months for Dutch due to his failure to attend

school, drug use, and rebellious behavior. He returned to Richmond ISD and enrolled in the 7th grade. Upon attending school only three days in the first six weeks, Dutch dropped out.

Dutch welcomed the end of constraints placed upon him by the public education system as he entered the workforce. “I started to work construction at \$5 per hour or \$200 a week.” Dutch reached legal driving age when he dropped out of school and the cash from construction job allowed him to gain status through purchasing a new car. He elaborated how he sabotaged this status and more through self destructive behavior. “I started shooting dope and became strung out. It was all down hill with substance abuse.” Dutch’s downward spiral accelerated through his adeptness in deception and through the family denial system maintained by his mother.

Dutch explained that his record of incarceration paralleled his history of violence and drug abuse. He committed crimes while under the influence. “When I was twelve, I was in JV for injury to a child at school. The charges were dismissed.” He made it into Harris County Jail at age 18. A two count charge of murder landed Dutch in jail for months until the system cleared him of the charges. By then Dutch reached a higher level of criminal thinking and awareness.

There was perjury, blackmail, and payoff involved. But I was in jail nine months and thirteen days on murder charges. I learned how to commit crimes...but I didn’t learn how to get away with it.

Release from Harris County Jail led to more substance abuse and illegal behavior. “I drank a case of beer and that led to getting charged with stealing a necklace.” The

conviction for aggravated robbery brought a nine year sentence which involved serving only twenty four months.

They sent me to Ferguson Unit. The place was anti-law and anti-rule. Riot every day...fight every day. Place was nicknamed *gladiator farm* because it's a place where ya fight an riot an get hosed down every day. On the first day I saw a guy get stabbed. And I'm in shock from all this. I always said to myself, "I'll *never* go to prison." Now the first day in prison I'm saying, "How did I get here? Am I dreaming? Is this a nightmare?" I was there two years.

I tried to empathize with the emotions that Dutch associated as he conjured memories of the past. "Dutch, how did you survive and cope with life at Ferguson?"

"Let nothing affect you. You mask your emotions or you get singlet out."

"Singled out how or as what?"

"Oh, generally it was seen as a kind of weakness, so you didn't show nothing in reaction to a stabbing or a fight or something that happened on the unit like that."

As Dutch proceeded with his conversation, it became apparent that he took advantage of institutional programs that promoted rehabilitation. As with Doc and Wyatt, Windham School District provided the foundation for future positive growth.

I'm a seventh grade drop out so I passed my GED at Ferguson. I did this by going to school at Windham. I did my trade through Windham. I got my electrical. There were some that came to class just to get out of going to work in the cotton fields. Many cared, many didn't care.

Dutch made gained no epiphany or transformation experience through his Windham classes. In addition, he stated that numerous inmates abused the Windham system at Ferguson.

Many of the guys took classes to get out of work, but that was in vocational classes. Lots of guys passed vocational with As an Bs right up to the last week of the term. Then they'd fail so they could

retake the same course over again. This offered another chance to stay inside.

Dutch recalled memories how inmates orchestrated situations to their advantage while attending vocational classes at Windham, Ferguson:

For a lot of guys, vocational school was just a way of staying out of the cotton fields and the hot or cold days. The mess hall was next to the vocational classes. We stole steaks and got high much of the time.

A transformation or reform from addiction failed to appear during the Windham experience. However after treatment and release, Dutch enjoyed classes at Alvin Community College. "It felt great making good grades. I remember that was in a history class." Clearly a change occurred.

Based upon his progress in education and, I then asked about his first opportunities at parole. Dutch answered by explaining that his attitude and behavior sabotaged many parole chances and greatly increased his years as a guest of Texas Department of Criminal Justice.

The first time to parole, they recommended that I go to AA. I was *furious*! I wrote a letter to my mother saying, how dare they tell me I'm an alcoholic and tell me to go to AA. I refused to attend AA meetings. I got into a fight and was shipped from prerelease to state unit at Dayton for two and a half years. After two and a half years at Dayton, the parole board sent me to prerelease at Cleveland. I was there eighteen months and I was sent back to Dayton again for another two and a half years for violent behavior. After twenty four months parole sent me off to IPTC at Amarillo for nine months of substance abuse rehabilitation.

In retrospect Dutch explained that he controlled his own fate and extended his prison time by stubborn refusal to comply with a parole board directive: go to AA meetings. "This also showed the extent that I didn't want to look at or give up my addiction."

And how did Dutch greet the new opportunity for rehabilitation and change?

“Anger! It really set me off that they were forcing me to go to AA.” At first Dutch wanted to return to his unit rather than participate in the program at IPTC Lone Star at Amarillo. But the intervention of one individual changed his fate.

They had this dynamite counselor. She pegged me as a “rage-aholic.” She helped me identify the pattern of rage and abuse since childhood. Alcoholism was rampant in my family. The majority of my brothers would drink on a daily basis or they were shooting dope. They were screaming. They were fighting. I had so much hidden anger. I never remember feeling anything growing up except anger.

At this point Dutch threw himself into the treatment program at IPTC Lone Star. The classes, meetings, group therapy, Gestalt therapy, and intensive individual therapy led to revelation and true epiphany for Dutch. A fundamental realization occurred based on trust of others and through spirituality.

I was able to face my fears. The bottom line being...before being a criminal...before being an addict...I was a very angry little boy. I was twenty-four years old and I acted like a six year old kid...that’s when I started getting high.

The topic of conversation temporarily turned from Lone Star Amarillo to Dutch’s release. “You’re asking me about release? Let’s see...it was May 15, 1994.” He recalled his bus ride from Amarillo to the therapeutic treatment center in Houston, during which time he established prioritized goals and steps to better himself in life. “An I wasn’t worried about prison... you know...I can do time...but...how can I stay sober?”

I heard similar fears expressed by Doc and Wyatt regarding the time of release. Fortunately the state paroled Dutch to the Texas House, the therapeutic treatment center, for ninety days of half-way house treatment. Dutch encountered two individuals that provided support to help maintain his sobriety. He met Doc Holiday who served as an

intern at Texas House and he reacquainted himself with “this ole Mexican dude” who helped Dutch establish a support network.

I told him I was out. I told him I wanted to go to meetings. An he just started plugging me into so many people that were spiritual. He started plugging me into people that were sober.

Dutch received no emotional support from his family as he transitioned into the general population during his ninety day stay at Texas House. Dutch started work as a day laborer at \$6 an hour. By the time he left Texas House, he saved \$600. At that time his father helped him locate a Ford Escort and offered him money for the purchase. Dutch surprised his father by having saved enough money for the down payment on the car. It marked a new way the family began to view Dutch.

I gained an awareness of the many pitfalls and challenges that faced parolees. I then asked Dutch how he solved the problem of employment. His qualification as an intern for drug and alcohol counseling provided a direction for employment and a career choice as well. “I applied for a job with Texas House.” At first Dutch worked only thirty two hours per week. However, fate intervened and Texas House offered him a full time job. Dutch stayed with Texas House for about four years. “We started together...me an Doc Holiday, an em guys: Morgan Earp, Lucky Jack, and Diamond Jim. We started the first IPTC peer support in downtown Houston.”

The conversation turned as Dutch asked if I interviewed any of the original IPTC peer support individuals or if I knew their fate. I told Dutch that I had several telephone conversations and two lengthy conversations with Morgan.

“You heard what happened to him didn’t ya, Mike?”

“Yes, I heard he is back in prison.”

“Yea, that dumb-ass stopped makin calls and stopped coming around. Stopped checking in with people and we were waiting for something to turn up and it did.” Then he added, “But that’s his choice.”

In general the language used to describe the lost, the relapsed, or the recidivated of the IPTC group contained strong tones of sarcasm and some anger. Doc, Wyatt, and Dutch expressed mixed feelings of betrayal, abandonment, and vulnerability to the possibility of their own relapse whenever another IPTC member went to prison, to the streets, or to the grave.

I established and lost contact with members of the IPTC peer support group. Morgan, a parolee working as a substance abuse counselor, relapsed and became reincarcerated in TDCJ for a year. Lucky Jack, another parolee working as a substance abuse counselor disappeared. After three insightful telephone conversations with Lucky, I called two weeks later to establish an appointment to meet him. The telephone was disconnected. Dutch believed he relapsed in reaction to a sudden divorce. Doc believed Lucky went off to die because he learned that his hepatitis C progressed to the point of imminent liver failure. I failed to connect with Diamond Jim. Dutch (like Doc and Wyatt) spoke despairingly of Diamond Jim’s return to street life. Why contact *him*? After some questioning I found that lamentation over loss and some anger over loss became involved for Doc, Wyatt, and Dutch.

Dutch turned the conversation again by explaining that it is hard to live and easy to relapse. He believes that the many traps associated with risky behavior are avoidable.

For Dutch the risks of life and relapse remain an unavoidable condition. However knowledge exists to help

In a three year period I lost seven family members including my mom and my dad. I remembered when my dad died. I was down at NASA at that hospital...and my dad had passed away and I'm [emotionally] engulfed. My attitude is wrong. My conversation is wrong. I'm belligerent, ya know. It's all there. All the warning signs are popping out of me. Ya jus couldn't talk to me. That's how far out I was. I had just closed my world into a shadowed dark.

At that critical point Dutch remembered what an old man suggested whenever he faced a difficult situation: "Double up on your prayer and double up on your meetings." This was the key to avoiding the trap.

And I doubled up on my prayer and my meetings...and I didn't use dope. And by the next evening I was feeling relief. I didn't get high and discourage [cause more hurt to] my family. Do ya see what I'm sayin? The risky behavior I was participating in...there was never a gun. There was never a knife. It wasn't about robbing or stealing or killing nobody. It was about destroying me. *That* was the risky behavior.

Dutch continued to describe the survival learned to escape the traps of relapse gained in treatment and later in the program. Anger management classes led to certification in anger management. Dutch said today nobody recognizes him from his past behavior. He used to be abusive to women. He recalled: "Once I grabbed a girlfriend by the throat and I choked her during an argument. I choked until she was unconscious and about ready to pass to the other side!" Treatment created a new person: A man at peace with himself and others close to him.

That's where I am today, ya know. Would I trade it? What I have, money didn't buy. Everything I have internally is free. AA NA meetings are free. What I'm sayin is, I wouldn't trade it for nothin in the world. My worst day today is a million times better than my best day using.

Dutch identified and delineated several topics related to his transformation. He indicated the importance of employing coping skills needed to negotiate around the identifiable traps associated with the risky behaviors of life. Next, he attributed a miraculously changed life through entering treatment. Furthermore, he credited his continued drug free life to living the AA/NA program and learning coping skills. Finally, he values treatment and realizes the meaning, the positive change as perhaps the most precious elements in his life.

But how did Dutch deal with the IPTC program while he served prerelease treatment at Lone Star Amarillo? This posed a question regarding the general impression made by the Lone Star treatment experience.

Dutch immediately praised the many contributions of the treatment program and elaborated on important personal reactions. “Well, how do you release a criminal without any help and expect him to be a new man?” He promptly attributed his involvement in counseling arose from the treatment experience.

That’s my way of payin back the state of Texas. Treatment opened the door and allowed me to be the man I am today. Up until IPTC, when I was in prison I’d say I can’t wait until I get out. I’ll get me an ounce of dope, a couple reds, an some speed whores...and I’m gone to the motel room. But it changed me.

He tells clients that they enter the therapeutic treatment facility for ninety days. “Why leave the same person you were when you came here. That’s what IPTC did for me.”

I then asked, “OK, but I wondered what conditions you experienced while inside Amarillo?” I added that Doc and Wyatt described Kyle as treatment environment free from guards with guns and billy clubs. Guards and counselors referred to inmates as

“clients.” They also gained access to education and LCDC classes during treatment at Kyle.

With a broad smile, Dutch shook his head signaling a negative response and then explained the differences at Lone Star Amarillo. “No guns is right, but handcuffs and billy clubs there were.” Dutch explained that the behavior of some became so uncontrollable that guards treated those men like convicts.

You know, they’d treat em just like a convict. They’d beat em down if they had to. They’d shackle them and they’d hogtie em and they’d bag em out. They had billy clubs and they had handcuffs, but they didn’t have guns.

I then asked about education opportunity at Lone Star? Is this where you earned your

LCDC?” Dutch again shook his head signaling a negative response to my query.

“Naaaa, no no, no. The LCDC always stayed in her office and it was three CIs [counselor interns] that taught classes in each pod [living community of 150 inmates].”

He added, the CIs delivered lectures to the pods and LCDC only signed off on the counseling reports done with individuals and groups. Lone Star program again differed with the Kyle program in that Kyle offered credit toward LCDC licensure.

“Dutch, why do you believe the programs differ so much between the way Staying Out managed the Kyle and Amarillo units?”

“Wait a minute...Lone Star was operated through that New York outfit...Phoenix House.” He explained that the state contracted from different servers to provide treatment for the prerelease programs in Texas. Doc mentioned that Kyle and Amarillo operated under slightly different philosophies. Similarities included the use of twelve-

step groups, drug education, survival skills, a work routine, and a regimented daily activity schedule from wakening to sleep. However, Doc mentioned one factor that differentiated the Amarillo IPTC graduate.

I pressed Dutch to examine the difference that dealt with greater reliance on cognitive intervention at Amarillo and greater dependence on AA/NA and twelve step programs at Kyle. I asked if treatment or the program was responsible for delivering Dutch from his self destructive behavior. Dutch prefaced his answer with his unshakable faith in the program and his need for a relationship with a higher power. He saw individual choice and action as preeminent when associated with treatment.

It's not so much the TC...it's not so much that the facility was there. It was what each individual did with it. I mean, you can have a dope problem and I can send you to Betty Ford. An the next day you can start drinking. It's a matter of what *we* do with it.

I found it a convenient time to insert a question regarding the nature of contributions to treatment made by clients. Dutch stated that clients worked their jobs and “ran the program.” At the basic level Dutch stated: “Well, the place was actually run by us cons, even though they gave out directions and let us choose how to work it out.”

On another level, specific clients gained the opportunity to contribute beyond the daily routine. Dutch mentioned that he provided input to government agencies regarding the treatment program issues and prisons. This included Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) and Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ). Few selected individuals participated by giving direct input to government officials. The exposure raised self

esteem for clients and state officials gained clarification of policy and outcome from the perspective of insiders.

I changed the direction of the conversation to the Dutch's reaction to the CJPC publication and the reports dealing with the IPTC program from 1992 through 1995:

Three Year Tracking of Offenders Participating in Substance Abuse Treatment Programs. Both Doc and Wyatt provided feedback on the publication and now Dutch waded into the matter. Dutch believed the recidivism rates provided by CJPC for 1994, 1995, and 1996 reflected relatively low rates compared to those he encountered in treatment, counseling, and in his personal experience. "From the people that came out of Amarillo to Houston, there were hundreds – hundreds...eight made it. And out of those eight, two relapsed."

Dutch added that the CJPC statistics failed to reflect actual drug use in Texas crime. He tied substance abuse to other felonies.

I can commit a robbery. I can have a gun and have five ounces of cocaine in my car. You know what they're gonna charge me with? *The most severe punishable crime!* They always dismiss the lower charge and keep the most powerful charge.

"Dutch, then most often many individuals commit crimes while under the influence?"

"Most definitely! That's the way the domino falls when it comes to the law." He continued to explain the routine arrest and charge for possession of two ounces of marijuana and two hidden shotguns in a vehicle. They charge you with misdemeanor marijuana charge. "So they give you forty five days in the county jail. But they'll drop that forty five days when they can put the two shotguns on you and get twenty years."

Therefore, the state statistics reflecting the number imprisoned for substance abuse reflect artificially low numbers.

I alluded to the CJPC report again and asked about the reasons why many clients failed to complete the treatment program. Dutch explained that Lone Star practiced “zero tolerance” in enforcement of policy and in requiring full participation from clients. “You know, the way I see it now is Lone Star’s deal was they were not fixin to release somebody from their program that didn’t want to change their behavior.”

“OK, Dutch, what happened if somebody failed to participate?”

“You go!”

“OK, let’s say somebody exhibits difficulty learning or catching on?”

“You would go!” Dutch continued to tell the reasoning for this policy.

That was the biggest thing that they had. It was like leverage they had. You know, cause there were some dudes that were in prison for fifteen years...like Doc! And then they get in TC and say “man, you’re crazy”...you need to write a slip! When they say “you’re insane”...that a piece of paper...They say “I’m not gonna do that”...ship em outa here!

“So everyone participates rather than sitting and just doing time during prerelease, right Dutch?”

“You know what? You just the words right out of Lone Star’s mouth, Mike”

Dutch elaborated on the Lone Star policy:

You wanna do time? We’ll send you back to your prison unit and you can do your time right there. But here, this is about recovery. Here’s what I’m sayin...When you’re sittin in confrontation and some guy wouldn’t or couldn’t see where he was wrong...and he wasn’t wrong...and he messed up pretty bad...he’s wasting everybody’s time.

This bit of information revealed that noncompliant clients stood as an impasse to the treatment of others. In addition, those clients in recovery viewed the removal of the uncooperative clients as necessary for the good of the group and the advancement of their own treatment.

“Now I understand the causes for the return of numerous clients to their units from the IPTC program, but what do you think causes their negative and self-destructive behavior?”

Dutch responded by stating that a pool of answers existed. He elaborated on poor self concept and low self esteem as sources of conduct. Dutch insisted that low self esteem conquers a person. “You’re grounded and your face is beneath the dirt.” Only the high makes life better. “And when you take a shot of dope and when it gives you that high...that’s inferior – superior feeling.” He insisted, represented the thinking and feeling of the addicted person.

“According to your previous comments regarding the statistics associated with the CJPC report, the state greatly underrepresented actual numbers of substance abusers in Texas prisons or associated with other categories of felonies in Texas. What is your reaction to the CJPC report regarding the recidivism of IPTC graduates?”

Dutch raised his eyebrows, rolled his eyes, and shook his head. The body language indicated I struck an iceberg. He remarked that the state kept records for only thirty six months. Texas parole officials checked only for annual arrest records of parolees as a means of follow-up. According to Dutch, his experience indicated that recidivism stood at far greater rates than the official 25%-30%. “You take a look – five

hundred came out and just eight made it!” He recalled the rate of attrition during the required ninety day stay at the therapeutic treatment center after release from Lone Star Amarillo. “I mean on a daily basis twenty people wouldn’t come back to the half way house.” Doc, Wyatt and now Dutch stated that the treatment programs proposes very modes numbers for success while the state orchestrated numbers to reflect artificial progress.

I knew the last four months of treatment...We didn’t focus on being a statistic. They would tell us that out of every one hundred people, only one would make it. That’s what the counselors said.

I directed the conversation toward Dutch’s opinion regarding the setups of relapse and recidivism for IPTC parolees. He reemphasized the importance and negative power of poor self concept and low self esteem. Dutch believed that all parolees deal with problems with transition from prison to life outside, however, he shares the belief with Doc and Wyatt that parolees “do it to themselves” in regard to relapse and recidivating.

Dutch provides answers that resonated with those delivered by Doc and Wyatt with few exceptions. Peer pressure became relegated to a problem primarily effecting youth. According to Dutch, “Peer pressure seems to be something more based on an age factor.” Dutch remarked that “the belief that everything’s OK and it’s over” helped lead many into the key relapse issues. Many of these issues served as the original sources of addiction, hence the power of the set-up to relapse.

“They get lulled into thinking ya got it beat. And then they stop gong to meetings. After they stop going to meetings, they stop seeing their sponsor. Add dishonesty and laziness.

In the absence of meetings and the guidance of the sponsor, old behaviors and acquaintances with the old (wrong) friends reasserts dominance in the addicts life according to Dutch.

Dutch discounted certain external factors as contributing factors for relapse and recidivism. He believed poor communication skills failed to reflect on the addiction issue. He disagreed with the statement that “you didn’t stand a chance if you’re dual diagnosis” because numerous social agencies provided free help for that problem. Similarly he disagreed with being disabled or being without transportation as sources setups for relapse.

Dual diagnosis...definitely not true. If you don’t have money for transportation, you ride free. If you’re disabled you get help and the reason why I don’t agree with none of that is because I know the resources available for dual diagnosis. In 2000 Houston got \$11.2 million for dual diagnosis alone.

For Dutch, the battles of recovery exist primarily on the internal realm. “Like I said, I can send ya to Betty Ford and you can come right out from treatment and start using again.” Dutch says this requires the “want to” – the will to follow through. Without this aspect treatment or success after treatment appears highly improbable.

Dutch returned to a familiar relapse warning signs and elaborated upon them with his unique eloquence. “One is isolation and the other one is ‘I’m bored.’” He described the internal journey through proceeded to illustrate how the dream of reason produces monsters.

NEVER leave an addict in his own little neighborhood all by himself. I can roam here. [He points to his head]. And I can get into it...and I can get into it, ya know. I’m already killing somebody. You know, just admitting: “Oh, that son of a bitch! Boy! I just...

I'm gonna kill him. You know what? I'm gonna see how I'm gonna get back at him. You know what? I'm setting up a plot already. You know, the longer I stay up in this little neighborhood of mine, that's the sicker and sicker I get. I start putting actions behind those thoughts.

Dutch reminded me that the program places emphasis on confronting the dangers of the mind that arise from isolation. The meetings, networking with others in sobriety, and working with a sponsor confront the problem of isolation. Also, the development of a spiritual life becomes an integral component in healthy living.

Dutch provided a chilling account of addictive thinking in the danger of isolation and the means to counteract the condition. Dutch defied the odds of falling into the danger of relapse and recidivism. Now, I wanted to learn other ways he managed to adjust to life on the outside and maintain his sobriety. I asked, "Dutch, you illustrated the importance of internal phenomena (will, decision, and the dangers of isolation upon the addictive mind). How do you deal with conditions in your external world?"

Dutch answered this question and elaborated upon the difference between treatment and recovery. Treatment represented the initial step. "This means getting to learn where you need to go in sobriety (the life free from the influence of substances)." It refers to getting oriented to the problem.

Being in the program is different because treatment and recovery are not the same thing. There is a point where I am in treatment and I'm participating in treatment...with all the tools. Hopefully, when I'm released, I'll make that transition into recovery. And *then* I'm discharged. I go to meetings. I get a sponsor. I'm in the program

But his external tools relied upon his internal "want to." "Believe me, my chances increased a thousand fold when I made the decision that I wasn't going back to

the life I had before. Because they told me in treatment, ‘change the people, places, and things you hang out with’ and that’s what I did.” Dutch insisted that tools such as phone lists, meetings, or sponsors represent only one part of the equation. “They work only if a person wants to work them.”

Dutch explained that he employed the tools learned in treatment and practiced in the program. He identified dilemmas or scenarios that required some degree of change, alteration, or avoidance.

“How does this differ from your practice of dealing with risky behavior by knowing the means to escape the traps,” I asked?

“Risky behaviors can’t be necessarily avoided. You can remove yourself from bad situations.” He gave an example by maintaining a relationship with a dysfunctional family of origin (risky behavior) and removing yourself from the company of heroine addicts (bad situation).

“How do you change a bad situation or reorient yourself toward a positive direction?”

Dutch came right back with an answer and surprised me with an answer that originated from his internal point of origin.

I was able to see warning signs because of the program, ya know. What I learned through the program and through treatment, I was able to identify it. And I made that *constant decision*. Whenever I’ve been dishonest, you know, I see bars again. I see cotton fields again. The guards screamin at me “hey inmate” just over and over, you know. That’s kinda like my affirmation.

He used a set of internal constraints to modify both situation and behavior.

Dutch raised an objection with an included term in the domain Characteristics of Sobriety: If you don't use, you don't go back. The objection quickly developed into an analysis of social-economic perspective on legal matters in the Texas legal system. In fact, Dutch opened his feelings dealing with prejudice existing in the system.

"The chances are decreased for sure, but the question is: If you don't use you don't go back." Dutch teaches in his class to not feel so superior that you mentally exempt yourself from ever going back inside. He catches heat for his belief on this matter. "My deal is I got a record." He then developed a story to illustrate the issue.

Say on the same day...two different parts of town...both of us are going through a school zone. You hit a kid and I hit a kid. OK? THEY BOTH DIE. I grantee they're not going to give me probation. Ya see where I'm at? And I'm responsible. I got a job. I got a home. I'm doing what I got to do, but look what happened! So I didn't use. I didn't relapse. I just had an accident. And I go back to prison. And them things like that put the fear in you...they really do...yea.

We both agreed that any ex-con faced a precarious existence in spite of an excellent parole record. I found it ironic that a parolee faced the possible role as victim due to a twist of fate.

However, Dutch added more to the list of injustice and the message echoed similar warnings previously articulated by Doc and Wyatt. Dutch asked if I ever had a wreck before. I answered no. "I don't know if you ever had a wreck or not, but you probably would get probation." He felt that prejudice colored the decision on the probation scenario he developed.

A White Caucasian dude...businessman...teacher. Oh yea, you know what? A jury would probably give you five years probation.

I added, “Do you feel the ability pay for legal counsel adds to the injustice?”

Dutch responded by smiling and slowly nodding his head in a positive manner. This cue provided a sense of closure and a chance to move on with the conversation.

From Injustice, I turned the conversation to state policy. “Dutch, could you describe the transformation and changes associated with IPTC and TCADA during the mid 1990s?”

Dutch reflected the position of Doc and Wyatt regarding the origins of IPTC and the changes made to TCADA. He indicated that tremendous support guided and motivated the IPTC program at its foundation.

And where did that support come from? Who drove all that? Ann Richards drove that. She built it. She drove it. She came to out facilities. She supported it. She introduced it from New York to the Amarillo Program. She could leave the whole State of Texas to come visit with five hundred inmates. And ya know what the first words outa Ann Richard’s mouth was? Hi, I’m Ann and I’m an alcoholic.

The governor’s visit left a positive impact on the clients. Dutch said he never recalled a governor going to a prison and greeting inmates before.

I found it so moving I felt compelled to ask: “Dutch, didn’t Governor Bush come to visit the inmates in the IPTC program?”

Dutch suddenly contorted his face as if in pain. Bush marked the retreat of the program.

“When she dropped out of the picture...Hey! Let’s take this IPTC and make more beds. That was Bush’s biggest thing that we were hearing about. That man! He just wants to shut treatment down and make those beds available for inmates.

Dutch then elaborated on the shutdown of the entire Lone Star program after the Bush election. He sarcastically added, “and then we come to find out...whether Bush wants to admit it or not...he’s just like one of us.” - The reference to the President’s (former) fondness for cocaine.

The state keeps track of parolees and IPTC graduates through recidivism rates. These rates reflect negative behavior: those rearrested. This led to the next question: “Dutch, what positive events failed to appear in the CJPC report and other state reports that monitor parolee progress?”

Dutch insisted that although the state dealt in negatives, he and his associates refused to follow a similar mental outlook. “When we got out we didn’t throw pity parties or do the poor me’s cause there was a group of people that got out and focused on that. They were ‘riff riders’ [Losers, dead wood]. Dutch and Doc developed a chapter of the Winner’s Circle in down town Houston. “Coming out is like being thrown into a tank of ice water.” Winner’s Circle assisted numerous men and women in their transition from prison to the world outside. They worked in community, gained support within church organizations, and supported one another.

We made that transformation. We opened another Winner’s Circle on Yale Street. Me an Doc, we started one in Baytown. What we fought in TC, we fought outside...not to become a statistic.

Dutch asserted that the state possessed selective memory in regard to parolees. Texas omitted the positive changes made by parolees. He questions the state’s rationale:

We know who you were. We know you were sentenced. But where you are today, that don’t count. And we don’t care.

However, Dutch gained praise from Houston Police Department (HPD) for his work done on the Youth Gang Task Force. He also received a letter of commendation from the mayor. But the state officially deals only in negative numbers in twelve, twenty four, and thirty six month increments.

I asked Dutch the final question. “What do you believe it means to make it as a IPTC graduate in society?”

Uncharacteristic of Dutch, he remained silent for a moment. Then he erupted into a coherent answer. “Well...it all goes back to the ‘want to’ that I told you about.” This provided a base or foundation. “You have to have goals and no longer be afraid to dream. This also includes accepting and living within boundaries.” He included responsibilities of job and the concept of sharing his good fortune with others by counseling in the field of substance abuse. Every answer Dutch supplied dealt with accepting responsibilities or giving to others. His concept of “making it” became a statement or testimony of life in recovery.

Analysis of Research Questions

The methodological influence for portraiture derives from Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot in her book *The good high school*. An additional work coauthored by Sara Lawrence Lightfoot and Jessica Hoffmann Davis, *The art and science of portraiture*, provided tremendous insight into the experience of portraiture. An explanation of this methodology background serves as a clarification for the previous three narratives and for the next section: summary portraiture and research questions. Briefly, the primary components of portraiture involve context, voice, relationship, and emergent theme. *See notations Chapter III for a description of the methodology.*

Research Question One:

To what degree did parolee graduates of the 1992-1993 IPTC classes participate as contributors to the IPTC program?

Doc Holiday

Doc shares an IPTC experience that indicates the intensive client participation held by Wyatt Earp. Both men attended the Kyle treatment program at the same time. However, Wyatt held a position as “Senior Coordinator” and entered Kyle roughly six month prior to Doc’s arrival. This contributed to a slightly different perspective and therefore, slightly different answers than those delivered by Wyatt. However, Doc’s views remained primarily concurrent with the views of Wyatt on the matter of client participation and contribution to the IPTC program.

Doc indicated treatment operated on a client driven system and that the client run nature of the treatment program at Kyle involved a reciprocal relationship. Client run

involvement provided socialization through learning rules and consequences. It provided a sense of responsibility and it increased self-esteem upon the completion of job assignments. All clients learned to follow rules and guidelines. Doc remembered a basic motto: "‘YAGM – BAGM’ (Your Ass Gonna Mind – Because My Ass Gonna Mind)." (p.64) This concept and basic rules/laws provide the foundation that a society requires or a moral home requires, according to Doc.

Doc also indicated he felt that the clients at Kyle contributed to running the program. This represented satisfaction in realizing that good work manifested from the labor of addicted convicts. This represented a self-esteem issue for himself and for those who shared the experience.

Wyatt Earp

Wyatt admits that fate played a role in his participation in the development of the IPTC program. He happened into the program in its infancy and helped fill a critical need when called upon by Wackenhut officials at Kyle. Clearly unexpected problems arose with startup in implementing the new program at Kyle. On page 84, Wyatt pointed out that counselors from Kyle visited New York and Chicago in order to learn the Staying Out counseling system. Implementation at Kyle became a problem due to a lack of trained personnel. Inmates that possessed the “want to” for treatment gained the opportunity to assist with counseling responsibilities.

After Wyatt made the commitment to treatment, he seized upon opportunity. Treatment taught to give back to others and to assist others with treatment. Wackenhut provided the opportunity and Wyatt responded.

According to Wyatt's account starting on page 85, inmates participated in numerous ways. Wyatt and other inmates acted as intern counselors one week after entering the treatment program at Kyle. "We came up with a structure. Counselors and clients worked out of necessity." (p 84) Wyatt and others *created* the startup of the Kyle program. In addition, Wyatt stated that the Kyle program operated through a client-driven philosophy. Though counselors from Wackenhut administered the program, the day-to-day operation depended on the action of clients. "In that way we ran the program." Wyatt voice, facial expressions, and body language communicated a sense of contentment and pride in these accomplishments. The treatment program sought methods to increase self-esteem and self-confidence in clients and these practices realized those ends.

Dutch Hoffmeyer

Dutch responded by answering the question on client contribution at Amarillo program. His responses paralleled those given by the graduates at Kyle. Dutch reiterated the clearly defined four-word message: "we ran the program." Dutch continued to clarify the surroundings associated with that statement. "Well, in the place it was actually run by us cons, even though they gave out directions and let us choose how to work it out." (p.113)

Dutch's experience led him to see the contributions made to the state by clients chosen to meet with state officials to discuss conditions in the treatment program. "The exposure raised self-esteem for clients while state officials gained clarification of policy and outcome from the perspective of insiders." (p113)

Summary

Question: To what degree did parolee graduates of the 1992-1993 IPTC classes participate as contributors to the IPTC program?

Clients contribute by working specific jobs that maintained the operation of the institution. They realized that “they ran the place.” Kyle and Amarillo officials need their assistance and the treatment program required clients to learn responsibility and gain self-esteem. The relationship paid off for all parties.

In the case of Wyatt, Wackenhut officials at Kyle required assistance in implementing the new program to the Texas system. They selected clients as “coordinators” to assist the counselors in program matters.

Research Question Two:

As members of the treatment community, how do graduates of the 1992-94 IPTC program evaluate results of official reports (*Three year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs*, Fabelo, Criminal Justice Policy Committee, Prepared. for the 76th Legislature, 1999, March 1999) in explaining high recidivism and relapse rates.

Doc Holiday

Doc initially responded to this question in a positive manner. His mood seemed upbeat and optimistic. He appeared pleasantly surprised by the findings. “I’m surprised that so many of us, according to TDCJ, are still out –we of the In Prison Therapeutic Community.” (p.73).

Though pleased with the numbers in the CJPC report, Doc refused to accept the findings as a factual presentation of the total picture in Texas. Doc then unloosed a litany of lost souls who graduated from IPTC only to relapse, returned to prison, die, or just “fall through the cracks.” (p.72) After five or six years of sobriety someone may relapse and get arrested. The state tracks parolee recidivism records for a maximum of thirty-six months and this keeps the recidivism rates low. “Let’s take it out nine ten years and see where these rates are.” That represents the lonely position Doc finds himself.

Doc also said that the Texas prison roles yield far more addicts than the statistics indicate. “First, there’s more addicts than that. If a guy is a user and he’s caught possessing coke and firearms, he gets charged for the firearms violation and the drug possession charge gets dropped.” (p.73)

A cause for recidivism rested with the failure to establish “criminal thinking” classes in the early days of the IPTC program. As a result, some clients sobered up to lead a sober life of crime. “If ya sober up a horse thief ya got a sober horse thief.” (p.74) TCADA changed the program objectives and established classes to deal with criminal thinking issues. Doc said treatment (IPTC and SAFP) and the therapeutic centers (licensed halfway houses) under TCADA represented a vision *in process* or as reacting to emergent conditions. Again, Doc voiced disapproval with those who placed blame on TCADA and the therapeutic community for failure to achieve lower recidivism rates. (p.74)

Doc indicated problems existed in the very structure of parole that exacerbated the situation, forcing higher relapse and recidivism rates.

Now, we get out.... we got 90 days in a halfway house to get every damn thing we were supposed to have. You can't do it! You *can't* do it. We were sposed to have jobs, homes, savings accounts, and positive peer structure. (p.68)

“Every damn thing” included housing, a job, and a savings account. This also required transportation. These goals remained unachievable for many due to their status as ex-cons.

Relapse leads to recidivism. “Relapse (return to substance abuse) and recidivism are so close for us.... because if you relapse, you usually wind up recidivating,” (p.68). It usually begins with the exclusion of one important component from the routine of the program such as skipping AA meetings or dropping one's sponsor. “It's a domino effect – If you don't do one, all the rest will start falling away till nothing's left but that big old hole that something's got to fill.” (p.69) Doc believed this leads to relapse. Relapse means the absence of sobriety. The absence of sobriety means the loss of clear thinking. The loss of clear thinking leads to turning a crime.

Those who forget the baffling nature of addiction and isolate themselves become vulnerable. “We think we're in control. That's when the trouble begins.” (p.70) Addiction represents a lifetime condition similar to a disease like diabetes. When one believes they beat addiction, they stop doing the things in the program. This leads them directly into relapse.

In addition, varieties of issues hold a ubiquitous potential to initiate a chain reaction that leads from relapse to recidivism. These “triggers” beguile addicts back into substance abuse. “People make money their god.... or make a woman their higher power

or whatever it happens to be. It's just stupid." (p.64) Without sobriety, clear thinking and good judgment disappears.

How did Doc make it? He maintained sobriety and worked the various aspects of the program.

Also, for us, it's the way we work our programs. I have a sponsor. My key is to meet with my sponsor as often as I need to; make my meetings; maintain a spiritual life; avoid traps and risky behaviors. (p.65)

The program helped Doc avoid the traps of risky behavior. The behavior remained the focus of the issue, not the person. Preserve positive behavior and establish new goals

There's a million different reasons to go and relapse. What good will it do me to be in five years, ten years back in a prison cell or dead? None!

Wyatt Earp

Wyatt immediately expressed his disbelief in the numbers presented in the CJPC report. His objection manifested itself visibly. His body language clearly indicated what were about to deliver. As noted on page 35, Wyatt first responded by rolling his eyes and shaking his head in reaction to the question. His head motioned "no" for several seconds. In addition, his facial expression hardened to a one of seriousness.

As Wyatt spoke, his voice resonated with agitated and aggressive tones. Wyatt became defensive of the IPTC treatment initiative. He defended "the initiative" with the passion reserved for the defense of close family or friends. In many ways the initiative, which includes the treatment program in the Texas prisons, became an intimate part of Wyatt's life and held a lofty degree of significance for him. "Treatment saved my life." (p.87)

He honed his argument like a war-seasoned knight preparing defensive weaponry for the protection of his lord's castle. The years of experience in the field and discussion of related issues afforded him the forensic ability and knowledge base like an expert swordsman armed with a superb double-edged blade.

Wyatt elaborated upon a defensive argument, citing problems associated with the start-up of the IPTC program as the source of recidivism rates in excess of 30%. Although the IPTC treatment program faced issues associated with start-up, they faced simultaneous dilemmas.

He told how the treatment initiative "was put together overnight." (p.84) Wackenhut dispatched counselors to Chicago and New York to learn the Staying Out counseling system.

They came back to Texas and were unable to implement it into the creation of a new Texas program. So clients and counselors started the program. I was one of the first fifty. (p.77)

Wyatt believed that rapid growth of with the introduction of unexpected growth. "We were there thirty days and the treatment program expanded from fifty to include another four hundred and fifty." (p.78) Wackenhut officials placed greater reliance upon the client-counselors due to the unexpected and large census increase.

Selection of inmates for the Kyle program, as Wyatt indicated, created problems. "They had gone way up with assessments. Lots of these guys weren't screened and some of them didn't want treatment.(P.78) Warden Bonner promptly returned the "bad apples" to TDCJ for completion of their prerelease time. This accounted for a large portion of the high attrition rate in the early years of the IPTC program at Kyle.

Aftercare began in 1994-1995, an absence from the program for almost two years. Wyatt repeated the message of the state that the state of Texas failed miserably in supporting ex-cons in their reentry into society. Wyatt pointed to the creation of the Winner's Circle as perhaps the only source of aftercare available for addicts and/or ex-cons. The Winner's Circle exists due to the efforts of the ex-cons who created it – created for ex-cons by ex-cons.

They identify with others with similar experiences. The power is in the group. It gives affirmation and more affirmation – jobs, places to stay, support, a place to check in.

Wyatt then went on the offensive. He charged that the numbers of actual drug related crimes exceeded the numbers relayed in the CJPC report. He reasoned that the use of drugs or alcohol usually accompanied the commission of assault, robbery, burglary, etc. Furthermore, Wyatt charged that the state manufactured low drug related recidivism rates and drug related felony arrests by charging individuals with the most serious of two crimes and dropping the lesser crime.

After the conclusion of the battle, Wyatt turned to the cause of recidivism. This involved the formula of isolation and relapse, a view that remained convergent with those of Doc and Dutch.

They stop going to group [meetings like AA]. They stop support. They stop their spiritual life and cut out the church. By then they become isolated. Isolation leads to old patterns, behaviors, and relations. This leads to relapse and recidivism. (p.34)

Wyatt said following the program prevented him from falling into relapse and recidivism. However, he articulated a central point, a practice he does every day.

It took a conscientious decision that I learned at Kyle. I make an

every day decision that I will not take drugs. I will not turn a crime.
 You choose your surroundings. You choose your company. (p.83)

To that extent, Wyatt predicates his day and his working the program on his affirmation or decision.

The choice is yours from the beginning. I can choose to do right or wrong. But now when I choose to do right or wrong, I need to know why I'm doing right or wrong. I need to know consequences of my actions. (p.89)

For Wyatt relapse, recidivism, recovery, and "making it" all manifest from the locus of choice and responsibility: the individual.

However, Wyatt articulated clearly divergent views from those held by Doc over factors that work against recovery. Wyatt failed to articulate the pessimism over those issues presented by Doc: ("If you're diagnosis, you don't have much of a chance." "If you're dual diagnosis, you can't get money for your meds." "If you don't have money, you don't have transportation." "If you're disabled, you're screwed." and "A lot of them are not that damn smart") Wyatt acknowledged these problems, but felt social service agencies met the needs of those individuals.

Wyatt and Doc reached consensus on other statements about factors that work against recovery and parole. Housing remains a major obstacle. State law prohibits parolees from leasing apartments. In addition, gainful employment remains elusive. Ex-cons face stigmatization and their record as they attempt to compete in an ever more competitive work force. Low education levels and the lack of marketable skills exacerbate this problem.

Dutch Hoffmeyer

Dutch gave a reaction to the question much in character with the reactions given by Doc and Wyatt. The numbers reflected in the report failed to reconcile with Dutch's years of experience as a person that participated in the process. "From the people that came out of Amarillo to Houston, there were hundreds – hundreds...eight made it. And out of those eight, two relapsed." (p.102)

Dutch maintained other objections to the CJPC report similar to those raised by Doc and Wyatt. Most crimes are committed under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Felony charges get pressed and drug charges get dropped in order to earn maximum convictions. Far more drug related crimes occur and far more drug-addicted convicts inhabit TDCJ.

The causes for attrition within the IPTC treatment program for Dutch at Amarillo compared closely with those expressed by Doc and Wyatt from their experience at Kyle. The Lone Star Program at Amarillo practiced zero tolerance regarding compliance to the program. "You know, the way I see it now is Lone Star's deal was they were not fixin to release somebody from their program that didn't want to change their behavior." (p.53) Lone Star demanded 100% compliance with the treatment program. Clients participated or they packed and went back to their unit. Lone Star practiced zero tolerance for any inmate who attempted to enter Amarillo in order to "do their time" during prerelease – the last nine months of the prison sentence.

You wanna do time? We'll send you back to your prison unit
and you can do your time right there. But here, this is about recovery.

This accounted for the high attrition rate.

Although he believed the state pulled its numbers, Dutch relied upon information provided at Lone Star Amarillo regarding his choice to pursue treatment and the program.

I knew the last four months of treatment...We didn't focus on being a statistic. They would tell us that out of every one hundred people, only one would make it.

At that time that he declared to both the counselors and clients that he intended to reach the goal and make it as the one in a hundred. Dutch's declaration to beat the odds raises another issue relates to "making it": possessing the "want to" or will to achieve that end.

Dutch profoundly believed that all parolees encountered problems transitioning from prison to life outside and shares that belief with Doc and Wyatt. In addition, he shared the belief that parolees "do it to themselves" concerning relapse and recidivating. (p.104) However, Dutch's response differed in one significant way from those given by Doc and Wyatt. He leaned forward as he spoke and explained that the battles of recovery existed mainly as an inside issue. "Like I said, I can send ya to Betty Ford and you can come right out from treatment and start using again." (p.105) Making it requires the "want to" – the will to follow through. This comes from within.

Summary

As members of the treatment community, how do graduates of the 1992-94 IPTC program evaluate results of official reports (Three year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs, Fabelo, Criminal Justice Policy Committee, Prepared. for the 76th Legislature, 1999, March 1999) in explaining high recidivism and relapse rates.

The graduates of the IPTC program related that the figures given in the study simply failed to represent reality as they experienced it. They expressed joy and satisfaction at the low recidivism rates given by CJPC study. However, all three criticized the CJPC report for citing artificially low numbers. They explained how the criminal justice system manufactured low drug abuse figures from the time of arrest through prison sentencing.

Though Wyatt seemed most defensive regarding the issue, all three offered justification of the treatment initiative from any perceived criticism raised from the CJPC report. The ten years of experience on the outside eclipsed the state's thirty-six month recidivism report based on re-arrest records. Within ten years of release, Doc's "experiential statistics" tabulated that only three out of ten members of his IPTC support group remained clean and sober: "Most of us are in jail, in prison, back on the streets, dead, or just 'fell through the cracks.'"(p.68) Wyatt reported grim results for his 1992 IPTC graduating class:

About the first fifty in the program...I'm the only one...I'm the only one that made it. All the rest are in prison or dead." (p.84)

Dutch also provided his recollection of who made it from his 1994 IPTC class from Amarillo: "You take a look – five hundred came out and just eight made it!" (p.104)

The defensive posture adopted by the counselors regarding the state and the Treatment Initiative raise more questions.

Question Three:

To what circumstances do parolees from the IPTC program (1992-93) attribute their achievement?

Doc Holiday

Doc clearly identified key people, events, and practices that helped lead to his achievement, his ability to maintain sobriety, to live life without depending upon a substance to alter one's mood.

Doc believed that role models established examples for him to follow. There was Bill, an older boy in his neighborhood back home in Louisiana. "Bill served as my role model until he drown in a swimming accident. Then I started getting into trouble." (p.55) The need for a role model remained unfilled for years, but the image of Bill remained a dormant memory that eventually resurrected into a living force when Doc made his decision to participate in the treatment program at Wackenhut Kyle.

Education became Doc's initial catalyst for change during his years at Darrington (1985-1993). Doc's encounter with teachers and principals in the Windham School System initiated initial change. Teachers stayed after class to talk with students. The exposure they provided sparked the seeds of change. In fact he praised Windham for providing the helping to start him in the transition to a new life.

Bonnie Lorie, Windham Principal at Darrington Unit, provided books: Nietzsche, Sartre, and Kierkegaard. That launched Doc into a larger world asking the big questions. "I also started asking myself 'why the hell am I here----in this stinking prison wasting my life away'?" (p.58) Doc emphasized: "These are the things that really started a change." (p.58)

Dr. Steven Price, Warden at Darrington Unit, influenced Doc. “He was the only Ph.D. in the entire Texas system.” Doc explained how Warden Price entrusted him with the newspaper editorials and other duties. Warden Price cleared the way for Doc to schedule college courses at Darrington . “I had an opportunity to develop college classes for Alvin Junior College.” (p.59) Doc demonstrated administrative savvy by eliminating many less popular courses in order to ensure registration levels for other classes. All this led to selection for the IPTC program at Kyle.

The event of treatment at Kyle led Doc into the intimate friendship with Wyatt Earp and the influence of Warden Bonner. This marked the watershed experience in Doc’s life.

“Getting into the program” marked a significant practice that led to success after treatment. “Treatment” differs from “the program.” “Treatment is a place and time where you deal with addictive behaviors, recover personal history, identify triggers of substance abuse, and learn prevention strategies.” (p.61) Treatment introduced the program. The program involves commitment to living life through a twelve-step program such as AA (Alcoholics Anonymous), NA (Narcotics Anonymous), or CA (Cocaine Anonymous). Doc states, “I go to AA.... In there it says, ‘This program cannot fail!’”(p.61) The program worked for Doc due to his commitment to it – a program that is fundamentally a spiritually oriented.

Perhaps the most important issue leading to Doc’s achievement rested with his continuity with the treatment community on a daily basis. He accomplished this through maintaining employment in treatment as a counselor.

I took a construction job in Alabama...makin over six hundred dollars a week. I had to live in a motel while I was there. BAD SITUATION, dude! The construction crew was gettin high on and off the job. They were doin stuff that was a threat to my sobriety. So I quit and took a job as an LCDC back in Houston at half the money. But I had my sanity... my sobriety.

Doc established identified events, people, “tools,” the program, and employment all contributed directly to his success maintaining sobriety.

Wyatt Earp

Wyatt attributed success to encounters with pivotal phenomena that transformed or reoriented his life (like chosing to enter the treatment program at Kyle). Also he clarified the role of his will and choice in reaction to opportunities. At first Wyatt refused treatment: “I remembered thinking that all this recovery was bullshit.” (p.77) But eventually he accepted it and he made a solemn commitment to embrace treatment and later follow the program as a function of life.

They were giving a gift. It was a free gift. That’s when a change came. The change came that made me decide right then and there that I didn’t want to do drugs or commit a crime again. (p.77)

Wyatt augmented his decision for sobriety (going to treatment and following the program) through his association with New Directions. Upon release from prison in November 1993, he decided to go to New Directions Transition Center. He told a Huntsville man, “I’ll pay you \$50 if you take me to the front door of New Directions.” (p.81) Wyatt gained employment as a counselor there, developed the aftercare program, and remained employed there to date. This keeps him working with the program.

I feel that I want to give back for so much of what I've done wrong to others. I feel good when I help others away from a life of drugs. This reaffirms my experience.

Beyond the daily job lies the Winner's Circle. Wyatt co-founded the organization to assist addicts and/or parolees in transitioning into society. It promotes support and a place to check in for parolees. For Wyatt, it provides a way to continue to make amends, to pass on the message of the program, and to help him work the program as he shares with others. It safeguards his sobriety.

For Wyatt, employment, opportunity, choice, and giving to community organizations like the Winner's Circle led to achievement and success in maintaining sobriety.

Dutch Hoffmeyer

With Dutch, as with Doc and Wyatt, working in the field of substance abuse treatment assisted him in working the program. "That's my way of payin back the state of Texas. Treatment opened the door and allowed me to be the man I am today." (p.100) Now he assists others as a licensed chemical dependency counselor (LCDC).

His experience in treatment, in the program, and life taught him how to identify the inside issues that lead to relapse and recidivism.

I was able to see warning signs because of the program, ya know. What I learned through the program and through treatment, I was able to identify it. And I made that *constant decision*. Whenever I've been dishonest, you know, I see bars again. I see cotton fields again. The guards screamin at me "hey inmate" just over and over, you know. That's kinda like my affirmation. (p.108)

In addition to Dutch's vivid memory-based affirmations, he also dealt with concrete "risky behaviors." His resolution for such behaviors lay not with avoiding them.

He met situations head-on: “Risky behaviors can’t be necessarily avoided.” (p.107) One learns how to avoid the traps. Treatment and the program taught how to deal with a risky situation like an addict’s dysfunctional family. However, Dutch differentiated risky behavior from bad situations. The program directs addicts to avoid places like bars and drug using “friends.” or as Dutch’s words: “You can remove yourself from bad situations.” (p.107) Dutch, like others in the treatment community, entered the process of revising twelve step thinking as surely as Lenin revised Marx.

For Dutch, daily work as a substance abuse counselor, daily practice of the program, his affirmations, and his choice and free will all combine all helped him achieve success and maintain sobriety.

Summary

To what circumstances do parolees from the IPTC program (1992-93) attribute their achievement?

The respondents cited common sources for their achievement (achievement being maintaining sobriety). Divergent issues included working the program, working in a “treatment oriented” environment, and a desire to help others or pay back for all their transgressions to others. Doc concentrated on the role played by events and people. Dutch delved into the nuances of “tools” and risky behaviors. After an analysis of this language, no fundamental disagreement appeared among the participants. In fact they reached a degree of consensus on the totality of the language on this issue.

Question Four:

How do parolees who are members of the treatment community describe the relationship between half way houses and Texas State agencies such as TDCJ and TCADA? (Another way to phrase the question: How do IPTC graduates from the 1993-1994 classes view the changes in treatment after the management transition from TCADA to TDCJ?)

Doc Holiday

Doc perceived as an almost adversarial relationship developed between the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ) and the Texas Council on Drug and Alcohol Abuse (TCADA), with the legislature and the governor supporting TDCJ after 1995. This relationship and the changing political landscape of Texas led to a decline in the overall quality of care and a change from the original vision of “the initiative.”

At first things went well. Doc, like Wyatt and Dutch, expressed that the therapeutic community (prison treatment, halfway houses, aftercare) expounded a” treatment rather than punishment philosophy.” “Under Governor Richards we had a vision of what treatment was in the process of becoming.” (p.69) Doc stated that “the initiative” represented a vision in progress. “It’s got a long way to go.... It’s not a quick fix.” (p.69) In 1991 “the initiative” established that TCADA held regulatory control of the IPTC and SAFP programs. This included fiscal responsibility for service providers: payment to state certified therapeutic treatment centers for ninety-day aftercare for IPTC and SAFP parolees.

In addition, the system solicited input from the inmate population. Doc recalled:

I would meet with Governor Richards and I would meet – not just me, but Wyatt Earp and several others. You know. They’d sit us down and we could say “I think this or that.” Ted Sellers [TCADA] said: “y’all are in these cells. Are you ready to do something? Are you ready to become part of the solution instead of the problem?” (p.69)

As Doc spoke of Texas politics and treatment, he became noticeably more emotional, irritated, angry, and defensive of the treatment initiative that saved his life.

When Governor Richards left office, everything turned “back to the old ways.” (p.70)

First TCADA lost control of the in prison TC to TDCJ and Bush in 1995. The state say That TCADA’s books are funny, so Bush steps in and takes it over.... What a joke. Come to find out that the problem with TCADA is providers – contractors not honoring contracts.... And guess what? TDCJ was the biggest one to default and then Bush lets them take over TCADA

Doc identified George W. Bush as unfriendly to treatment and friendly to punishment. Now the state requires LCDCs to turn in the names of parolees that relapse or face losing their counseling license.

Change in SAFP represents another negative that first originated under the Bush Governorship and continued under Governor Perry. The initiative established that

Ya go to any TDCJ unit and ya see 75%-80% minorities... What do I see now working with SAFP probationers? - 45% white and they ain’t poor!” white suburban population holds the financial resources to afford lawyers. Lawyers then arrange for SAFP time with the DA rather than prison time.

Wyatt Earp

Even as I approached this question, Wyatt began to bristle. He became most defensive, not personally, but defensive of the initiative. Wyatt introduced the theme of “But now what I’m sayin is that you went from a treatment oriented organization, which was TCADA, to a correctional based program – which is TDCJ.” (p.88) TDCJ froze all

expansion of IPTC units. TDCJ closed programs in other locations except Kyle. With the TDCJ management and philosophy shift away from treatment, treatment space turned into prison bed space. “You have about 4,500 people waiting in county jails to go to treatment in just two counties.”

Wyatt believed that things turned for the worse since 1995 with the departure of TCADA from the IPTC and SAFP programs. Governor Richards proved herself treatment friendly. Her predecessors however, proved something different.

Bush says, “Lock them up and throw away the key.” And this governor [Perry] says the same thing. He’s not saying anything about treatment. He’s not addressing the issue. Treatment is the issue. He’s not addressing it by locking him up and throwing away the key.
(p.79)

Wyatt’s criticism included the curtailment of projects and deep cuts in the program. He warned of the problems generated by the closure of all IPTC units except Kyle: “You have about 4,500 people waiting in county jails to go to treatment in just two counties.” (p.79) Perhaps the most striking issue raised by Wyatt paralleled a similar charge raised by Doc – the changing social economic census of the SAFP program. However, Wyatt considered racism as the injustice associated with the changing SAFP census.

It’s like, you know, they started these drug courts. Now, you have your Caucasians. You have your African Americans. You have your Hispanics. Used to be the balance was like 30-35-35. Now it jumped to like 45-15-15. The Caucasians are 45.

Wyatt’s perception indicated the racial numbers that represented the polar reverse of populations he experienced during his years in prison. He saw obvious racism and injustice built into the system.

Dutch Hoffmeyer

Dutch answered the query by directing the issue at the transition years as a source of current problems within the treatment community (prison treatment, therapeutic treatment half-way houses, aftercare). Again, the epicenter of the problems involved the transition from TCADA to TDCJ. The transition caused distrust and generated distrust over administration of clients and dollars in prison treatment, therapeutic treatment center halfway houses, and aftercare.

Dutch spoke passionately of Ann Richard's involvement and what she meant to those in treatment. She created the treatment initiative and gained legislative support for the bill to become law. She took personal interest in the program due to her personal connection to the disease.

She could leave the whole State of Texas to come visit with five hundred inmates. And ya know what the first words outa Ann Richard's mouth was? Hi, I'm Ann and I'm an alcoholic. (p.123)

Dutch complained about the shut down of the Lone Star program upon the arrival of Governor George W. Bush. Dutch sarcastically commented on the Governor Bush's hypocrisy regarding public "get tough" actions and private (former) coke use by stating: "and then we come to find out...whether Bush wants to admit it or not...he's just like one of us."

Summary

How do parolees who are members of the treatment community describe the relationship between half way houses and Texas State agencies such as TDCJ and TCADA? (Another way to phrase the question: How do IPTC graduates from the 1993-

1994 classes view the changes in treatment after the management transition from TCADA to TDCJ?)

In a broad view, Doc presents a comic strip of Paradise Lost. He sees an honest attempt by politicians in Texas in the early 1990s that started to address the needs of the addicted population. Sin entered the world of IPTC and SAFP in the form of TDCJ, representing the power of the newly elected governor in 1995. Through corruption and misappropriation, TDCJ gained control of treatment from TCADA, under the Office of the Governor. The initiative originally intended older, chronically addicted lower income individuals originally received help through SAFP. Now, young Whites from families with middle or better income, hire attorneys to plea-bargain SAFP instead of prison time.

Wyatt continued in Doc's vein of criticism by citing the turn from treatment to punishment upon the administrative transfer of authority from TCADA to TDCJ. Long waits for treatment became common because only one the Kyle Unit remained functional. The charge of racism grew from the controversies, previously mentioned by Doc, surrounding the social economic census changes in the SAFP program. Wyatt associated racial disparity of the high number of Whites compared to minorities in SAFP due to the administration of the drug courts and the ability of White middle-income families to pay for trial lawyers. The promise of treatment remains a shell of the originally projected dream since the changes made since the TDCJ take-over of the initiative.

Dutch continued the theme of paradise lost, however, he failed to experience the disparities in SAFP the Doc and Wyatt experienced. In addition, treatment to punishment theme continued to appear in the language expressed by Dutch. The personifications of

good and evil appeared respectively in the forms of Ann Richards and George Bush. Richards played the role of the creator, the healer, the compassionate, the fair, and one who would come down to visit us and be with us. Bush played the role of the corruptor, the punisher, the hypocrite, and the insensitive person who would never “give time for an inmate in treatment.” (p.69)

In addition, all three IPTC graduates complained about an ocean of paperwork required by the state. Clarification with respect to job indicated the source of the paperwork. The paper trail ran from all three offices to TDCJ, Probation/Parole, TCADA, local agencies, and other places I never imagined. Clearly the paper trail did not represent a Bush conspiracy conceived to make the lives of counselors miserable.

Question Five:

How do parolees value adult and continuing education programs (both during and after incarceration) as vehicle to increase chances for rehabilitation?

Doc Holiday

Education became the catalyst for change in the life of Doc Holiday. He elaborated upon the essential role that Windham School District played in starting his transformation. First the humane school atmosphere differed from the brutal prison environment.

You're not a convict. You're a student. They treat you like a human being. They talk to you like (you're) an individual. (p.58)

Dedicated teachers introduced inmates to new and better worlds. For example, Windham educators introduced Doc to subjects ranging from making cappuccino to existential philosophy. The introduction to existentialism, gaining

electrical trade certification, and the humane treatment by dedicated and inspired teachers, brought Doc to this conclusion: “These are the things that really started a change.”

Doc’s educational planning after release included Houston Community College System, Northwest College. This experience helped orient Doc toward his professional objectives as a licensed chemical dependency counselor (LCDC)

After I was out I got my LCDC and finished my A.S. at Houston Community College. Dr. Blaire hired me as her student assistant. That was my first job on the outside. That really meant something to me.... that HCC and Dr. Blaire would hire me, an ex-con, for a position with the college. It made me feel just great. (p.63)

Doc values education and his current lifestyle serves testimony to the fact. He dedicates time...precious time at age 46 and battling hepatitis A, B, and C...to take classes leading to a bachelors degree and then earn a masters degree in counseling. Doc exemplifies the strongest practitioner as well as proponent of education among the three IPTC graduates.

Wyatt Earp

Wyatt returned to secondary education at Darrington unit in order to get his GED and in order to avoid the gang violence that rocked that prison in the mid 1980s. Along with the availability of the GED, Wyatt cited the school environment as a factor in attending classes at Windham School District. “They always treated you better in the school and it was a break from the prison.” (p.81)

Wyatt assigned a less prominent role to education than did Doc. For Wyatt, no transformation or start of a transformation began in a Windham classroom. Wyatt’s

transformation came through treatment at Kyle with the help of dedicated Wackenhut personnel. However, the experience in the Windham School Environment provided positive direction, education credit, and a temporary shelter from the insanity that existed in the Darrington environment during Wyatt's incarceration.

Wyatt continued education after his release from TDCJ. He took classes toward his LCDC at Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas. He maintains no further plans for education.

Dutch Hoffmeyer

Dutch failed to gain an epiphany or transformation experience when he attended classes at Windham School at Ferguson Unit. He reported that he earned his GED.

I'm a seventh grade drop out so I passed my GED at Ferguson. I did this by going to school at Windham. I did my trade through Windham. I got my electrical. (p.95)

Dutch admitted that motivation for attending Windham classes originated from desires other than the love of learning or the hope of gaining vocational certification. Many of the guys took classes to get out of work, but that was in vocational classes.

He also reported that inmates scammed the Windham system at Ferguson for baser reasons. "Then they'd fail so they could retake the same course over again. This offered another chance to stay inside." Inmates conspired to carry out this behavior in order to avoid the heat or cold of outdoor work. Most alarming, however, Dutch confessed: "The mess hall was next to the vocational classes. We stole steaks and got high much of the time." (p.96)

Upon entering treatment and the program, Dutch gained a new appreciation for education. He attended classes at Alvin Community College. “It felt great making good grades. I remember that was in a history class.” (p.99) This positive experience provided the motivation to pursue other objectives including attainment of LCDC licensure. Family, community, the Winner’s Circle, and the program all gained priority over pursuit of formal educational objectives. However, Dutch actively pursues community college adult education classes and workshops provided by professional organizations.

Summary

How do parolees value adult and continuing education programs (both during and after incarceration) as vehicle to increase chances for rehabilitation?

At least one of three participants (Doc) claimed to identify the source of the turning point in his life toward reform due to the influences of the educational environment provided by Windham School District and its dedicated professional educators. Doc studied various existential philosophers and enjoyed learning for learning’s sake. Doc remained involved with Windham and earned certification in electrical trades. The interest in education continued after release and Doc earned his A.S. degree from Houston Community College System and gained certification as a Licensed Chemical Dependency Counselor (LCDC).

Wyatt saw education as a means to an end. After Wyatt earned his GED, he started classes toward his LCDC licensure. Wyatt’s current position title is that of

Admissions Program Director. He holds no further ambitions for more education because his position requires no further education.

He remarked that Windham was a miracle for him at the time when he needed to earn the GED. However, he noted that some inmates took classes mainly to get out of fieldwork. All the same, Wyatt gladly found refuge in the safety of the Windham classrooms during the gang fighting at Darrington during the 1980s. “When you were in the school, you knew you were lifted out of that stinkin prison...just for a little time each day” (p.81) Wyatt spoke with respect of the Windham School District for what they helped him and other inmates accomplish.

Dutch appreciated education along the pragmatic line of thinking like that of Wyatt. He earned the GED and gained his trade from Windham. Dutch pointed to the questionable motives that drove many inmates (including himself) to continue taking classes with Windham. Dutch elaborated on how he and other inmates manipulated the system.

After treatment, Dutch put his energy into a positive direction with education. This included pursuit of classes with Alvin Community College. Although he has no concrete educational objective, like a degree, he realizes his indebtedness to Windham for providing the foundation for his life on the world outside.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

The final chapter provides an overview of the research and is organized into four sections: summary, findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The first section, summary, provides an overview of the purpose, literature review, and research design of the study. The second section, findings, a concise summary of the findings and analysis for each research question is provided. The third section presents the conclusions that are supported by the findings. The last section, recommendations, provides a series of suggestions for applications of the research and the conducting of future research.

Summary

As originally stated, an abundance of literature exists documenting the rise in recidivism rates in the 1990s, the high-risk variables associated with high recidivism rates, as well as documentation of factors (such as educational achievement) that served to abate recidivism rates. These quantitative accounts presented a powerful argument to do something; but it is less clear exactly what should be done with this information. Gaps in the literature existed because accounts and opinions of specific participants regarding these conclusions were absent. Consequently, we lacked specific direction. The perspective of the individual, the insider, was missing.

The results of the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program are statistically documented, but there was a lack of qualitative research concerning the

experiences and evaluations of the program by parolees that participated in the (IPTC). This included the critical evaluation of the IPTC program, contributions made by parolees to the program, and feedback from parolees on quantitative reports released by state agencies such as TDCJ and CJPC. This study, by using selective informants, attempted to address the issues raised in the survey of research literature. These gaps in the literature were addressed in the form of several unanswered questions. Five strategic research questions directed the inquiry into the problem

Based upon a comprehensive literature review and upon qualitative considerations, the following research questions were developed to accomplish the purpose of the study:

In order to address those areas, the following research questions were proposed:

1. To what degree did parolees of the 1992-93 IPTC program participate as contributors to the *Committee*, IPTC program?
2. As members of the treatment community, how do LCDC graduates of the 1992-93 IPTC program evaluate results of official reports (*Three year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs, Fabelo, Criminal Justice Policy Committee, Prepared for the 76th Legislature, 1999, March 1999*) in explaining high recidivism and relapse rates.
3. To what circumstances do parolees from the IPTC program (1992-93) attribute their achievement?

4. How do parolees who are members of the treatment community describe the relationship between half way houses and Texas State agencies such as TDCJ and TCADA?
5. How do parolees value adult and continuing education programs (both during and after incarceration) as vehicle to increase chances for rehabilitation?

The pursuit of these questions were directed toward four broad purposes:

1) conditions surrounding recidivism in Texas, 2) the Windham School District's educational and affective achievement with former students, 3) conditions inside the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program and contributions made by inmates in the treatment program, and 4) an "insider's perception" on making it as a reformed parolee and recovered addict living in society.

Literature Review

The review of literature confirmed the lack of qualitative research in all areas. The literature did, however, establish three fundamental areas that enabled the qualitative study to proceed and answer the research questions. The literature focused on three areas: 1) the impact of recidivism rates in Texas, 2) an overview of the impact made in assessing offenders and parolees in institutional educational in general and by the Windham School District in particular, and 3) the development of the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program and drug abuse.

The literature for recidivism in Texas provided a development of how recidivism was defined by state officials. This literature supplied background information and

identified the criteria by which Texas Department of Criminal Justice Officials established recidivism rates. This included the time limits of study and the means to obtain parolee information through other state agencies such as the Texas Department of Public Safety and the Texas Workforce Commission.

This section of the literature provided background on the extent by which recidivism rates changed drastically in the state over the last two decades. Literature pointed to the rise and fall of recidivism rates in the 1990s and the correlation with the rising prison population in Texas prisons. The review also indicated a disproportionate number of African Americans that are under some form of correctional custody in Texas. This held implications for African Americans in IPTC and especially the SAFFP programs. The review of literature compared Texas recidivism rates, prison rates, and justice system with other states.

The second major section of the literature addressed the impact made in assessing offenders and parolees by institutional educational in general and by the Windham School District in particular. The literature review provided an overview of the Windham School District. The literature considered educational achievement of parolees who attended the Windham School District. The preparation of Windham students for post-release employment represented another aspect covered by the review. This review of the literature also provided documentation of the estimated lowering of recidivism through academic achievement of inmates who attended the Windham School District.

This included the advantages and disadvantages in using recidivism as a gage to measure educational achievement. However, quantitative sources failed to disclose affective changes experienced by inmate students of the Windham School District.

The final section of the literature provided an overview of the history and development of progress of the In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program in dealing with substance abuse. This included the legal and historical background on the development of the IPTC program. The review of the literature identified the political leaders and their connection with establishing and maintaining support for the IPTC program. The review established the role of private prisons working with the Texas Department of Criminal Justice to provide services like IPTC at the Kyle Unit. The literature review also provided studies connecting successful substance abuse treatment through IPTC with lower recidivism rates when matched with comparison groups.

Summary of Procedures

In order to answer the gaps in the literature, a qualitative study was developed. The educational research methodology as outlined in Gall, Borg & Gall (1996) was employed to properly conduct the research. Furthermore, the ethnographic methodology of Spradley (1979) and the portraiture methodology of Sara Lawrence Lightfoot (1983, 1997) were drawn upon to develop an ethnographic study and to communicate the results of the study through portraiture. A contemporary interpretation of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis contributed to the methodology. The adaptation of Spradley's ethnographic interview methodology and tools permitted emergent research shown in Figure 4. This

augmented the process of simultaneously gathering and analyzing data. Furthermore, the methodology checked trustworthiness of the realities observed and those communicated.

I. Step One – Initial Interview: File Card Analysis (See Appendix A)

1. Significant Nouns
2. Significant Verbs
3. Repetitive phrases
4. Superlatives used
5. People/organizations

II. Step Two – Common Semantic Grouping: Spradley Based Semantic Worksheet Template (See Appendix B: Semantic Worksheet Template)

Identify:

1. Included terms
2. Semantic Relationship
3. Cover Terms
4. Determine Domains (Analysis)

III. Step Three – Domain Information Sheet (see Appendix C) Based on Results from Spradley Based Semantic Worksheet Template

IV Step Four - Transfer Results to Summary Sheets (see Appendix D)

1. Test the degree of uniform linguistic acceptance of terms
2. Examine social congruence.

Figure 4 Outline and Summary of Methodology and Procedures

3. Establish boundaries for the domains.

4. Analysis

5. Process Builds the Following:

a. Credibility – *Triangulation*

b. Transferability – *Thick Description & Purposive Sampling*

c. Dependability – *Dependability Audit*

d. Confirmability – *Through audit trail and through internal & external validity found in a-c.*

e. Ontological – *For expanded constructions that individuals bring to the social context... Demonstrated through testimony of respondents that have enhanced their understanding through recorded observations*

f. Educative Authenticity – *Understanding and appreciation for constructions of other stakeholders...Determined by testimony of respondents or through recorded observations through the dialectic process (Erlandson, et.al.1993. p.154)*

Figure 4 Continued

IV. Step Four - Tabulate results with Summary Sheets (see Appendix D): based on the results of the Structural Question Sheet

Outline and Summary of Methodology and Procedures

V. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot Methodology – Used Primarily in Chapter Four

1. Context
2. Voice
3. Relationship
4. The development of the notion of “goodness”

Figure 4 Continued

The targeted population for the study was a group of five parolee graduates of the In Prison Therapeutic (IPTC) program. During the interview process of the study, two participants abruptly ended their involvement: one recidivated and one disappeared. These parolees worked as professionals in the field of substance abuse counseling in Harris County Texas. The participants belonged to an informal support group composed of IPTC graduates and brought together primarily through efforts of Doc Holiday.

Interviews involved a thick description and utilized both field notes and a tape recorder whenever possible. Filed notes and taped recorded interviews were transcribed to file cards. File cards coding provided a means to identify semantic relationships existing in the language of the participants and a basis for the development of co-constructed realities. Results of color codes were recorded on Semantic Worksheets.

This helped to clarify and organize what Spradley (1979) called included terms and cover terms that existing in a linguistic domain. The Domain Information Sheet developed from results of the Semantic Worksheets.

Domain Information Sheets, sought to clarify language use and meaning. The participants confirmed or rejected the included terms and cover terms of a particular domain through check listing. All included terms were derived from interviews with the participants. Each Domain Information Sheet provided space for the participant to include comments. The confirmation or rejection of the meaning of included terms on the Domain Information Sheet was transferred to the Summary Sheets.

This procedure tested the degree of uniform linguistic acceptance of terms. It examined the degree social congruence existing within the culture. This procedure established boundaries for of the domains involved. It served as a procedure that complete analysis. This also deals with issues related to credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, ontology, and educative authenticity (see *a-f* in Outline and Summary of Methodology and Procedures in Figure 5.1.b)

Findings

Research question 1 focused on the degree by which IPTC parolees of the 1992-93 provided significant contributions to the development and maintenance of the treatment programs at Wackenhut Kyle and/or at Lone Star Amarillo. The records of all three participants testify to this. Wyatt in particular indicated his intensive participation and leadership in the Kyle program in 1991 during the time of start-up. Wyatt recalled how collaborative effort between counselors and clients helped get the program

implemented at Kyle: “We came up with a structure. Counselors and clients worked out of necessity” (p.29). In addition, the establishment of the Winner’s Circle and involvement in community activities provided an aftercare component that was absent from the treatment program.

Research question 2 focused the reactions of IPTC parolees to state reporting and official state reports dealing with high recidivism and relapse rates. Participants provided sharp criticism of *Three-year recidivism tracking of offenders participating in substance abuse treatment programs* and similar state reports. Participants claimed such reports reflected unrealistically low numbers of parolees and/or addicts who were arrested, imprisoned, relapsed, or recidivated. Dutch described how the numbers of addicts in Texas prisons goes undercounted:

I can commit a robbery. I can have a gun and have five ounces of cocaine in my car. You know what they’re gonna charge me with? *The most severe punishable crime!* They always dismiss the lower charge and keep the most powerful charge.

According to Dutch and the other participants, the drug charge is dropped in this case. The participants point to a general problem existing with record keeping regarding drug abuse in Texas law and Texas prisons.

Participants questioned the accuracy of the Criminal Justice Policy Council (CJPC) reports. To gain true recidivism rates in Texas, participants claimed the CJPC studies needed to pursue longitudinal studies approaching ten years in duration. However, the participants believed that every effort was made by state officials to show the lowest possible recidivism rates. Participants reported that the negative numbers of recidivism rates told only the story of failure regarding parolee assimilation into society.

The accounting of positive parolee and/or addict behavior needed to be recorded and publicized.

Research question 3 involved identifying the circumstances that contributed to success for In Prison Therapeutic Community (IPTC) program graduates. Involvement and helping others fight addiction affirmed their own involvement in recovery and raised their self-esteem. All three mentioned that their experience in the Windham School District inspired them to make the decision to reform their lives.

Role models assisted the participants in their change to accept treatment or in transformation into life outside – making it. Doc's memory of Bill Hickock aided him in deciding to remain in treatment at Kyle. An inmate with years of experience of survival influenced Wyatt in deciding to enter treatment. Dutch gained insight from an ex-con who he described as "an old Mexican dude." The ex-con introduced Dutch into local twelve step groups and relationships with drug-free people after his release from prison.

In addition, the participants took advantage to pay back the community by helping others. They achieved this by creating and participating in organizations like the Winner's Circle. They insist that working the twelve-step program (the program) of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) or Narcotics Anonymous (NA) remains a vital component of successful drug free and crime free living. All three warned that isolation stood as one of the greatest threats to continued success and represented an open door to relapse and recidivism.

Research question 4 involved the views of the participants regarding the relationship between halfway houses and state agencies like TDCJ and TCADA.

The participants describe a turbulent relationship between various agencies. All three participants indicated that the quality of substance abuse counseling in the IPTC and SAFP programs had greatly diminished since TDCJ replaced TCADA as the administrating organization of programs. They pointed to program cuts and a philosophic shift from treatment toward punishment under TDCJ leadership. Participants attributed praise or blame to political leadership regarding the establishment of the treatment initiative (praise of Ann Richards) and the replacement of TCADA with TDCJ to head IPTC and SAFP programs (condemnation of George W. Bush) as well as the curtailment of treatment programs (condemnation of Rick Perry).

Research question 5 dealt with the participant's evaluation of adult and continuing education programs as a means to increase chances for rehabilitation. The participants elaborated the role adult education played in their rehabilitation and making it in society. Clearly, Windham School District provided the educational foundation for all three participants. All three gained GED degrees while Doc and Dutch earned electrical trade certification. All three took advantage of counseling classes offered through Windham School District along with adult education computer classes and college classes. All three still pursue various forms of continuing education. They insisted that Windham provided an atmosphere for change because of humane conditions found in the school learning environment. This environment, not that of TDCJ, provided a safe place for an inner change for reform to transpire according to the participants.

Participants contributed success to common sources. Adherence to the lifestyle of the twelve-step program remains preeminent. The impetus to change from crime and

addiction toward treatment and the lifestyle associated with the program originated from common sources also. Education through the Windham School District played a role. Choice and willpower also played a major role in the decision to change, although the degree of influence varied among the participants.

Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the data collected during the study, several conclusions can be derived from the research. First, the findings support the conclusion that participation or involvement in decision making in aspects of treatment proves motivational for those in the program. “Making it” consisted of working the program, meeting with parole officers, dealing with risky behaviors, and remaining committed to a drug free and crime free life. Doc, Wyatt and Dutch provide accounts in the research.

Second conclusion drawn from the research was state record keeping appears inaccurate and presents a false picture regarding the actual number of drug related arrests and the actual long-term recidivism rate. State recidivism rates remained low because maximum time of tracking was limited to thirty-six months. Participants claimed that the 2003 recidivism rate of 5% (Eisenberg, February 2000) for IPTC graduates would be much higher if studies were conducted for ten years from release rather than two or three years from release. In addition, Texas jails and prisons hold a population of offenders involved in substance abuse in spite of their non-drug offense convictions. Procedures lead justice officials to prosecute the more serious offense and drop the lesser (drug-related) charges.

A third conclusion that can be extracted from the research was that participants consider the Windham School District as a positive source of change and TDCJ as a negative influence. The humane environment and praise for the teaching and administrative staff at Windham was identified throughout the research with the participants. The Windham education experience, not punishment in TDCJ, led the participants to change. This was attributed not only to the academic and vocational curriculum, but also to affective learning made possible by Windham School District educators.

The Windham School District and the Texas Department of Criminal Justice occupy the same space in Texas prisons. However, the participants expressed vast differences in how inmates viewed those institutions and they express this in strong terms. Windham School District reflected an overall positive meaning for the men associated with it. Conversely, they held TDCJ with almost universal disdain and saw it as part of a system that helped keep men returning to incarceration. Association appears to reflect the philosophical differences (education and punishment) between Windham and TDCJ.

A fourth conclusion drawn from the research involves the participant's attitude toward the justice system in Texas. The research identified key political leaders associated with both TDCJ and the IPTC program. Texas political leaders – particularly Ann Richards, George W. Bush, and Rick Perry, symbolized friends or foes to the participants in the therapeutic treatment community. Participants in the study place little or no credibility in the current criminal justice system including political officials

associated with it. The treatment initiative and changes in the treatment initiative rest in the hands of politicians. The participants associated Ann Richards as a symbolic benevolent force associated with the institution of the treatment programs in Texas prisons. George Bush and Rick Perry represent malevolent forces bent on destroying the initiative or rendering it into a punitive tool for TDCJ.

In the conclusion, the findings support that the IPTC graduates with years of sobriety live a perilous existence “making it.” Every time an IPTC graduate relapses and recidivates, the small number of graduates becomes smaller. The survivors of the group react with anger and with acrimony for the fallen. However, this facade exists only to hide the fear that one of them may fall next. They admit their concern for fallen friend but they also reveal a degree of fear that haunts them on a daily basis. The possibility of using and losing everything remains a possibility of daily reality. The loss of friends with five or ten years of sobriety to the streets, prison, or death escalates this fear. They console themselves in the program and group support.

(To illustrate this point of a perilous existence, two weeks after the conclusion of the research, Dutch recidivated for cocaine possession and is currently serving a sentence in State Jail for a year.)

Wyatt said that while in Kyle, he swore he “would not take drugs and not turn a crime” (p.77). This became a daily commitment in his life. Likewise, Doc and Dutch made that commitment and continue to make that commitment each day. Treatment awakened Doc, Wyatt, and Dutch to a new life. The program provides the tools to

maintain sobriety. All three defend treatment and the program – the means that saved their lives.

State records fail to read the impact felt by the parolee addicts as they see their numbers shrink over the years. Participants claim that state officials wish to overlook the actual problem and provide lower statistical reports regarding recidivism by setting the extent of documentation at thirty-six months.

The state, obsessed with lower recidivism rates, concentrates only on the easily obtained arrest reports and incarceration records of parolees for twelve, twenty-four, and thirty-six months. Because the system runs on lower recidivism figures, other indicators of parolee success remain unexplored by the state of Texas. This instills a “so what” feeling toward the justice system when parolees make outstanding contributions, like founding a chapter of the Winner’s Circle.

The negative reaction to the justice system continued from the prison gates and led to the local parole offices. For support, they relied on themselves, their support groups, their churches, the program, and the Winner’s Circle, not the state of Texas.

Recommendations

Recommendations for application of the research findings extend four suggestions involving lower relapse and recidivism rates. The qualitative findings suggest that state officials might well consider the expansion or replication of identified Windham School District policies for the use in compatible TDCJ programs. Quantitative and qualitative data suggested that Windham School District played positive roles in the rehabilitation of inmates.

A second recommendation involves self-esteem and state record keeping practices. The quantitative studies in the review of literature and the powerful narratives in this study indicate a close association between self-esteem and lower recidivism rates associated with “making it in” society. Participants in this study expressed that recognition of positive achievement raised self-esteem. Based on these conclusions, the Texas Department of Criminal Justice should optimize parolee self-esteem (and lower recidivism rates) by providing the follow-up interviews on parolee post-prison employment and education success. Consenting parolees may sign release forms granting consignment of the positive findings to the media for public distribution.

Related to the second recommendation is the third recommendation. Implement qualitative reports to deal with parolee accomplishments in “making it” on the outside. Publicize the reports in order to consider parolee accomplishments rather maintain singular focus of failure seen in recidivism rates.

A fourth recommendation involves a call for increased community cooperation and an expansion of services of the Winner’s Circle. This study reported the positive impact generated by the Winner’s Circle influencing the lives of Texas parolees in their adjustment into life on the outside. Greater state and municipal cooperation may expand and optimize the role of the Winner’s Circle in local communities. In addition, association and involvement with church, civic, and business organizations could heighten community awareness of the Winner’s Circle and the positive contributions made by these parolees. Such involvement might act as a means to provide grass root dissemination of information and serve to counterbalance the TDCJ reports on parolee

recidivism rates. In addition, more parolees could gain the benefits of involvement and connectedness in their lives through association with a chapter of the Winner's Circle.

The following are four recommendations for the improvement of the research study represent concerns associated with a 360 degree analysis. The first concern involves inclusion of the recidivated IPTC graduates into the study. These IPTC graduates were excluded from the research study. Their experience could provide a richer description of research findings on "making it" and in answering the research questions: In Prison Therapeutic Community information gained from an actual prison interview. A second concern involves the inclusion interviews of more spouses and employers in order to provide greater understanding of the character of the participants. A third concern involves a lack of feedback from Windham School District officials or Texas Department of Criminal Justice officials regarding the research study. This input could provide important experiential information that cannot be presented in quantitative studies or reports. The fourth concern deals with what Lawrence Lightfoot (1983) call the development of "goodness." This calls for ongoing critique and refinement. "In fact, one could argue that a consciousness about imperfections and the willingness to admit them and search for their origins and solutions is one of the important ingredients of goodness in schools." (Lawrence Lightfoot, 1983, p.309) This idea resonates in any research including this study.

The following are recommendations for further research and study related to the findings and conclusions of the study:

1. Initiate a study to explore ways in which the services or programs of Windham School District can be expanded in the TDCJ corrections programming.
2. Participants in the study drew a strong connection between activities associated with the Winner's Circle and the maintenance of a sober and crime free lifestyle. The geographic sphere of influence of the Winner's Circle remained relegated to major urban locations in Texas. Parolees in rural regions and numerous Texas small towns found it impossible to obtain the benefits of this organization due to the lack of personal transportation. Initiate an exploratory study seeking the resources needed to expand the Winner's Circle from its urban bases into rural Texas communities.
3. The participants in this study described general distrust of the criminal justice system as parolees and members of the therapeutic treatment community. Study the extent of the distrust by administering a questionnaire, using a random sampling, to members of the therapeutic treatment community. Administer the questionnaires at quarterly TACADA or Greater Houston Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse conventions. Administer similar questionnaires at parole offices. Explore the level of trust or distrust associated with the Texas criminal justice system and politicians associated with it. Use qualitative study to locate and study parolees involved professional involved in the therapeutic community regarding the trust/distrust issue.
4. This study indicated strong distain held toward prominent Texas political leaders (George W. Bush and Rick Perry) while admiration and esteem was directed toward others (Ann Richards). Initiate a study of the therapeutic treatment

community population exploring their reactions to politicians defined in terms of the community (specific culture).

5. Address the problems encountered in state record keeping indicated by the participants. Extend the time limit of recidivism record collection beyond thirty-six months in order to examine the impact of recidivism reported by the participants. A longitudinal study from five to ten years can utilize current data collection sources (Department of Public Safety and Texas Workforce Commission records). This can include selective qualitative studies in order to provide the inside perspective and fill the gaps missed by quantitative investigation.

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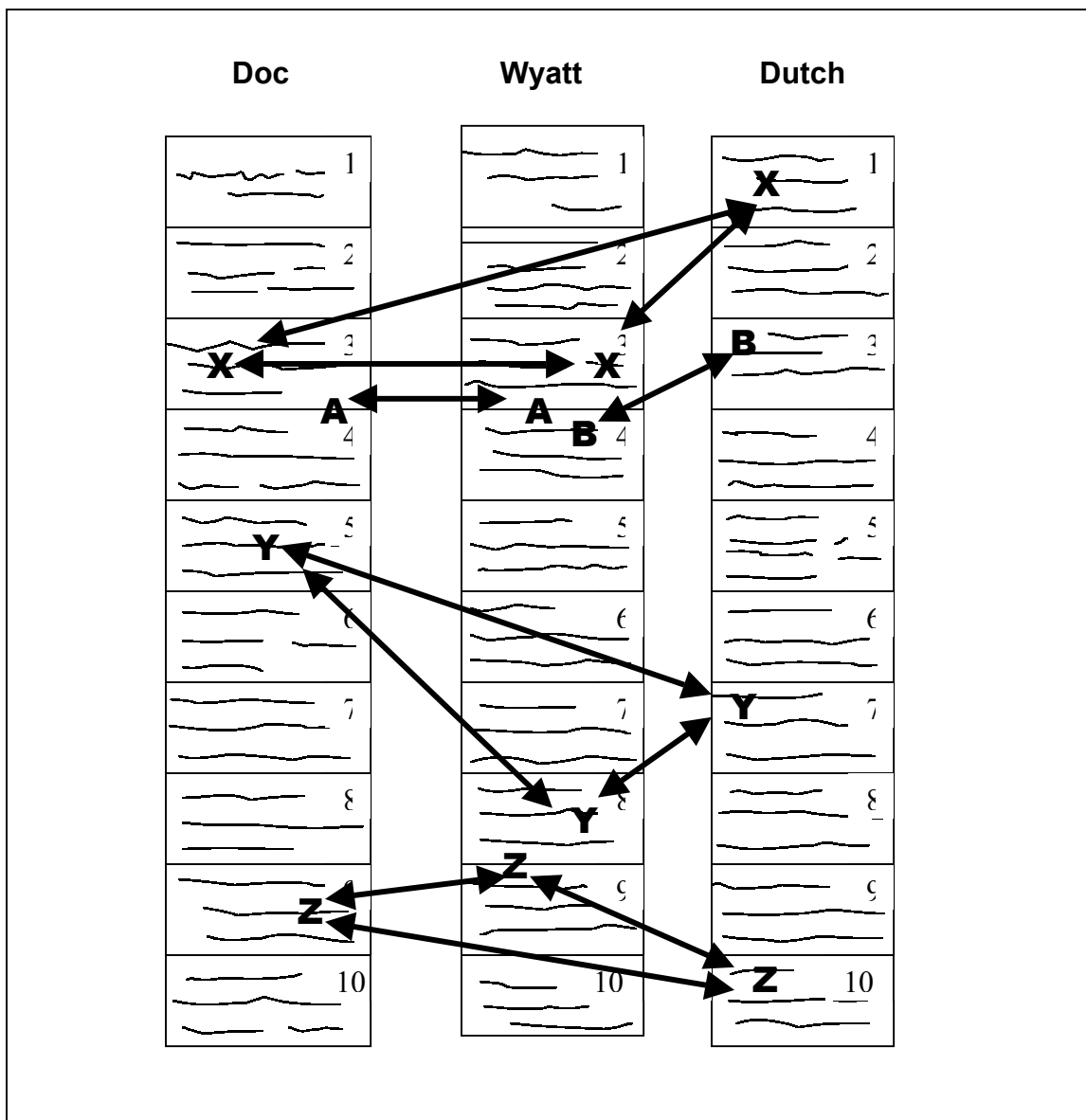
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APPENDIX A
FILE CARD SUMMARY

APPENDIX A

FILE CARD ANALYSIS
Procedure for Identifying Cover Terms & Included Term Selection



APPENDIX B
SEMANTIC WORKSHEET TEMPLATE

Appendix B. Semantic Worksheet Template

DOMAIN:		Subject:	
Semantic Relationship		Card:	
Form			
Example		Date	
		Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
Included Terms	J		
A	K		
B	L		
C	M		
D	N		
E	O		
F	P		
G	Q		
H	R		
I	S		

APPENDIX C
STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS			
Semantic Relationship: Attributive.			
QUESTION: What are statements contributes to policy change with the initiative? X arose from Y			
Domain: Statements attributed to policy change with the initiative			
Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below			
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Going from treatment base to correction base program		now near 1 million under supervision in Texas	
the initiative started under TCADA and went to TDCJ		300 and some thousand with a substance abuse problem	
It wasn't about treatment with Bush		I really don't know where the initiative is going to go	
Faced with dilemma--reduce treatment beds		This governor say we gonna lock you up n throw away the key	
Ann Richards started the initiative with a vision		Chronically addicted lower income offenders were a priority	
Now you just go to treatment - do this here and that's it		SAFP changed to 45% white middle income	
White middle class hire lawyers to cut deals with DA		Now it's same old story. its how much justice can you afford?	
Cultural diversity with treatment now, is not as balanced as it was when It first started		African Americans decreased because they didn't have money to face prosecution	

Which of the above terms would you or others use when talking about policy changes with the initiative?
 Check for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued			
Semantic Relationship: Sequence			
Question: What are the stages of start-up at Kyle? "X" is a stage of "Y"			
DOMAIN: Stages of start-up of IPTC at Kyle			
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>			
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
They ask for fifty volunteers			in 30 days program expanded from 50 to 500
Transferred us to another part of Kyle			Very fast growth
In Kyle for 9 months - 1 year			A-Block angles work program
Four counselors sent to Stayin Out program			B-Block called B-Block Rebels
Counselors learn NYC and CHI Stayin Out problems come up fitting program into Texas			One group influence the other group
Clients and counselors start up program			New clients come in unscreened
Clients and counselors work out necessities			If you didn't work at, you were out
			From 1991-1994 the IPTC was run by TCADA
Which of the above terms would you use when talking about the start-up of the IPTC at KYLE?			
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?			

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>			
Semantic Relationship: Contingency			
Question: What are sources of making it? "X" is a source of "Y"			
DOMAIN: Means to "Making It" on the outside			
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>			
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Parolee/Addict driven program			"staying connected"
12-Step program structure			positive alternative to criminal thinking
Community-oriented service			the Winner's Circle
"External tools"			Prayer
Ways to gain self esteem			"Making amends"
Sponsor support			get plugged into spiritual people
Anger management			get plugged into sober people
Which of the above terms would you use when talking about "making it on the outside?"			
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?			

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>		
Semantic Relationship: Contingency		
Question: What contributes to "drinkin n druggin?" X contributes to Y		
DOMAIN: Conditions contributing to "drinkin n druggin."		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Low self esteem		to hide feelings
Poor self concept		to not feel
Peer pressure		Violence & abuse
Relief		no structure
Power over others		dysfunctional family
Superior feeling		family involved in crime
because your face is below the dirt		Family members abuse drugs
Alcoholism in family		No goals

Which of the above terms would you use when talking about "conditions that lead to "drinkin n druggin?" Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive		
Question: What are characteristics of the Program?		"X" is characteristic of "Y"
DOMAIN: Characteristics of "the program"		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Checkmark for YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
staying positive and getting the job done		Maintaining a spiritual life
the support network is a phone call away		Avoiding the traps and risky behaviors
me saying "it can not fail"		I got the fastest 911 fingers in the west in the dopers all know it
"God, the program, me, my wife, my job"		accepting that I have a higher power
It has all the keys we need		admitting that I am the problem
me making my meetings		Taking control of my life
me meeting with my sponsor		the every day decision I will not take drugs. I will not turn a crime
power and affirmation of the group		"I feel good when I help others away from a life of drugs"
Which of the above terms would you use when talking about "the program?"		
Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?		

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship	Attributive	
Question: What are phenomena within IPTC/SAFP? "X" conditions existing within "Y"		
DOMAIN: Phenomena within the IPTC/SAFP environment		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Client driven system	AMD, process groups, lectures	
Blocks live as micro communities	Some make it - some don't	
Positive competition between blocks	Confrontation	
Pick up the other's slack	Realize there ain't no one to blame but me	
Have pride and respect for ourselves	LCDC classes given	
It's the behavior, not the person	"YAG-EM N BAG-EM"	
Contribute to one another	No guns, no billy clubs, no handcuffs	
Structure provided	Clients, not convicts	
Which of the above are things you would say happen in an IPTC or SAFP therapeutic community?" Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?		

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive Sequence: "X" is a stage related to "Y"		
Question: What are the stages of recovery and parole?		
DOMAIN: Stages related to recovery and parole		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Included Terms <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Going through TDCJ Intake		Going through IPTC General Orientation
Taking the diagnostics test battery		Going through IPTC Main Treatment
Going through screening		Cadre
Doing the ASI - Addiction Severity Index		Graduation and completing the IPTC program
"doing your time on the unit"		Treatment providers picking you up at the IPTC unit
Serving till Pre-Release program		Parole officer signing your papers at the IPTC unit
Busing you to Kyle from the unit		Getting bussed to a half-way house in the city of your choice
Start serving in 9 month IPTC Pre-Release		Starting a 90 day half-way house aftercare program

Which of the above terms would you use when talking about "stages of recovery and parole?"
 Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive Sequence		
Question: What are the daily activities in an IPTC or SAFF community "X" is found in "Y"		
DOMAIN: Routine daily activities in an IPTC or SAFF community		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5 AM UP and feet on the floor		Morning CD ED does noon work detail, morning work detail does CD ED
5:30 AM - Breakfast		4 PM - Kick-out
Clean dorms & bunk at 6 AM		5 PM - Chow
AMD – at 6:50 for an hour		6 PM - Encounter/ Confrontation group for an hour
Encounter - Confrontation for an hour		7PM - AA/NA or other 12-step group
CD education for an hour		8 PM – PMD for an hour
Process group--10:30 till lunch		9 PM Kick-out
Lunch		10 PM - Lights Out
Which of the above do you see as a routine daily activities in an IPTC or SAFF community?"		
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?		

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship: Sequence “X” is a stage in “Y”		
Question: What are the stages in success in recovery at SAFF?		
DOMAIN: Stages of success in recovery at SAFF		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms		Included Terms <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
A 45 day Phase 1 Orientation		Learning risks and effects of STD & HIV in phase 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Learning rules, tools philosophy in Orientation		Selecting 12 step, Winner's Circle, SOS in phase 2
Learning conflict resolution in Orientation		Pass phase 2 test to transition to phase 3
A 60-90 day CD education in phase 2		A 60-90 day relapse prevention program in phase 3
Learning what CD does to body & brain in phase 2		Life skill education in phase 3
Learning cognitive thinking skills in phase 2		Learning to access feelings & emotions in phase 3
Learning the basic disease concept in phase 2		To find post SAFF 12 step support in phase 3
Learning the stages of disease in phase 2		SAFF coordinator gives OK & get discharged to aftercare

Which of the above terms are used to describe stages of success in recovery at SAFF?”
 Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship: Rationale		
Question: What are reasons for getting extended time in a TC? "X" is a reason for "Y"		
DOMAIN: Reasons for getting extended time in a TC		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Included Terms <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Doing a "TDC cases"		Breaking a cardinal rule
Fighting		Failing examination before transition team
Stealing		A poor showing at your discharge meeting
Non-participation		To show poor attitude
Failing a test		Letting our mouths overload our butts
Pulling a poor evaluation by the staff		Poor evaluation by your trial judge
Get bad evaluation by your SAFF CO		

Which of the above terms are used to describe reasons to extend time in a TC?"

Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive		
Question: What are the activities you do during a day at a treatment center? "X is a daily routine at "Y"		
DOMAIN: Routine daily activities at the Therapeutic Treatment Center		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Included Terms
Feet on the floor at four for kitchen crew		NOON - Lunch
Wake up at six		1:00-2:30 pm Life Skills or Orientation
6:00-7:00 am Breakfast		Get Recreation or Creative Energy from 2:30-4:30
30 minute AMD		5:00 Dinner
7:30-9:00 am Do your work detail		Going to Relapse prevention or Encounter group
9:00-10:30 am Errors in thinking		8:00-9:15 12-step meeting or Peer support
10:00 am Brunch		PMD from 9:15-9:45
Thirty minutes of G.I.		Securing your area and G.I from 9:45 to 10:00
11:00-12:00 pm Sober living or Relapse Prevention		Quiet time and lights out form 10:00-11:00 pm
All time planned and regulated – "nothin wasted"		1:00 am Lights Out
Which of the above terms are used to describe routine daily activities at the "Tombstone Center?"		
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?		

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>		
Semantic Relationship: "X" is a reward in a "Y" Form: Attributive		
Question: What rewards are given for positive responses during treatment at a treatment center?		
DOMAIN: Rewards in a residential therapeutic treatment center		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Included Terms <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Getting a structure letter		Assist counselors with presentations
Getting recognition at a group meeting		Helping run programs
Getting group affirmation		Getting to tell your story to community or school groups
Be chosen go present lecture topic		Gaining more responsibilities
Gain work promotion to Expediter		Gaining snack privileges
Gain work promotion to Coordinator		A smoke or coffee break
Gain work promotion to Assistant Senior Coordinator		
Gain work promotion to Senior Coordinator		

Which of the above terms are used to describe rewards given in a residential therapeutic center?"

Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>			
Semantic Relationship: "X" is a result of "Y"		Form: Cause-Effect	
Example: What charges get a drug charge thrown out?			
DOMAIN: Heavier charges that gets a drug charge thrown out			
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>			
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Get busted for assault		Manslaughter	
Get busted for firearms possession		Murder	
Armed robbery		Sex with a minor	
Burglary/theft		They always dismiss the lower charge	
		If you get with 2 oz of weed and 2 shotguns, they gonna give you the maximum	
Sex assault			
Unauthorized use of a motor vehicle		Endangerment to a child	
Indecency with a child			
Which of the above terms are heavier charge and therefore get a drug charge thrown out?"			
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?			

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship	"X" is a function of "Y"	
Form: Attributive		
Question: What are the functions of the Winner's Circle?		
DOMAIN:	Functions of the Winner's Circle	
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Peer support network	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
		Support for jobs
A Sponsor - Network to help others		Support for housing
Help find jobs		Gives affirmation
help get auto loans		Provides power of the group
change behavior		Pick up slack
Provide role models		Help rebuild the community
Helping you deal with your record		Stop n check criminal thinking
help identify with others with similar experience		Provide a way of positive follow up

Which of the above terms are heavier charge and therefore get a drug charge thrown out?"
 Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive		
Form: "X" is a feeling related to "Y"		
Example: What feelings are related to addiction?		
DOMAIN: Feelings related to addiction		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Included Terms <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Denial		"I'm bad"
Anger		Don't feel
Helplessness		Thinking is limited
Fear		It's like hell
low self esteem		It's sick
I feel so low that my face is beneath the dirt		The number one person you have to face is yourself
"You're a failure"		Don't have the want to

Which of the above terms would you use to talk about "feelings related to addiction?"
 Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship: Cause-Effect "X" is an example of "Y"		
Question: What set-ups lead to relapse and/or turning a crime?		
Domain: Set-ups that lead to relapse and/or turning a crime		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
It's not that they got pulled down—they jumped into that hole		Not "makin" parole meetings
Make money your higher power		Associate with the wrong people
Make a woman your higher power		Stop going to group
Pink n green		Believe everything's OK and it's over
They screw themselves		Isolating from friends and family
Having no survival tools		Isolation leads to old behaviors and relations
No will		Old behaviors lead to relapse a & recidivism
Stop going to meetings		Loss of structure & accountability
Turn from spiritual growth		No one's gonna call them on their shit
Have poor communication skills		Poor coping skills
Thinking they're smarter than the guards, the cops, the system		Domino effect--if you stop doing one thing, you'll stop doing the rest
Which of the above terms are "set-ups leading to choosing relapse and/or recidivism?"		
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?		

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>	
Semantic Relationship: Cause/Effect	
Form: "X" that work against "Y"	
Question: What factors work against recovery and parole?	
DOMAIN: Statements about factors that work against recovery and parole	
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>	
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
If you're dual diagnosis, you don't have much of a chance	
If you're dual diagnosis, you can't get the money for your meds.	
If ya don't have money for transportation	
If you're disabled, you're screwed	
A lot of them are not that damn smart	
Which of the above terms is "a statement about conditions that work against recovery and parole?"	
Checkmark for YES	Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic: Relationship: Attributive		
Form: "X" is an characteristic of "Y"		
Question: What are the characteristics of sobriety?		
DOMAIN: Characteristics of sobriety		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Make good decisions when you aren't high on drugs		Gained through treatment
Gained through 12-step programs		Maintained through the program
You don't use, you don't go back		Had bread a new man
Getting days, weeks, months, years of continuous sobriety		Money didn't buy what I have
Setting that pattern into habitual effect.		Everything I have internally is free
Learn to use external brakes		I wouldn't trade it for nothing in the world
Develop cognitive thinking so your emotions aren't like a yoyo		
Which of the above terms is an "attribute of sobriety?"		
Checkmark for YES	Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?	

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive		
Form: "X" is a first experience in a "Y"		
Question: What are the initial experiences when entering treatment in IPTC?		
DOMAIN: First Experiences in IPTC Treatment		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Treatment was scary		I was the source of my problem and only I can change
People confronted me about what I did		Change came that I didn't want to do drugs or commit a crime
People confronted me about my drugs and my crimes		At first I wanted them to send me back
Thinking all this recovery was bullshit!		I was angry at all of them and it didn't matter.
People say in they're there for me, talking about new & better lives		They were there as a free gift - that's when a change came
The people had been right in the place where I was right there		
Which of the above terms would you consider one of the "first experiences in IPTC treatment?"		
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?		

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS continued		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive		
Form: "X" is a statement about "Y"		
Question: What are some general statements made about political policy and treatment?		
DOMAIN: Statements about Political Policy and Treatment		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ann Richards had a vision I believe she built it. She drove it		When she dropped out of the picture...Hey! Lets take this IPTC and make more prison beads
When I graduated from IPTC Ann Richards handed me my diploma		He just wanted to shut down treatment and make beds available to inmates
She supported it and contributed to it		I know that a few facilities got shut down
She introduced it from New York to the Amarillo Program		And we come to find out, whether Bush wants to admit or not, he's just like one of us.
And Ann Richards came to Kyle and man, did that ever raise our spirits		Ya know, the first words out of her mouth was? "Hi, I'm Ann and I'm an alcoholic.
She visited us at Amarillo. She could leave the whole state of Texas and come and visit 500 inmates		
Which of the above terms would you consider a typical "statement about political policy and treatment?"		
Checkmark for YES	Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?	

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>			
Semantic Relationship: Attributive			
Form: "X" is higher education experience of "Y"			
Question: What experience in higher education do IPTC & SAFF grads encounter?			
DOMAIN: Higher Education Experiences of IPTC or SAFF Grads			
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>			
Included Terms		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
I loved it!			Dr. Blair and HCC was a great experience
I took American History and Religion through Amarillo Community College			Dr. Blair hired me as her student assistant.
I did my LCDC through Amarillo Community College			That really meant something to me... that HCC + Dr. Blair would hire me, an x-con, for a position with the college.
I attended Houston Community College			Working on my B.S. at LeTourneau University
Finished my A.S. at Houston Community College			Planning on getting my masters
I worked on my first 2 yrs of college at Alvin Community College while I was inside and Houston C. C when I got out.			Houston Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse Workshops and continuing education
Naydean Blair offered LCDC classes at HCC			TCADA certification

Which of the above terms would you consider to be typical "education involvement?"

Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>	
Semantic Relationship: Attributive Form: "X" is a way to "Y"	
Example: A branch is a part of a tree	
QUESTION: What are some ways to help prevent relapse and recidivism?	
DOMAIN: Ways to help prevent relapse and recidivism	
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>	
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Double up on your meetings	
Double up on your prayers	
Get true friends	
Calling my sponsor	
Which of the above terms would you use in considering "ways to help prevent relapse and recidivism?"	
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?	

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>		
Form: Attributive Semantic Relationship: "X" is part of "Y"		
Question: What are some statements made about the inside issues involving substance abuse treatment?		
DOMAIN: Statements about the inside issue of treatment		
<i>Put a check next to each term you agree with at the end of each line below</i>		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
It's not so much the TC, It's not so much that the facility was there		Bottom line is what good will it do me in 5 years 10 years to be in a prison cell or dead
You can go to Betty Ford with a dope problemn the next day start drinkin		All that matters is doing the next right thing because It's the next right thing to do
It's not so much the bedding was there.		Sometimes it takes external motivation to motivate somebody---cause if we had it inside, what the hell are we doin here anyway?
It's what each individual does with it		There's somthin wrong with out thinkin.
It's a matter of what we did with it		We need to correct our thinkin patterns
It's all an inside job -		There's a million different reasons to relapse,
Which of the above terms would you use in considering "ways to help prevent relapse and recidivism?"		
Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?		

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURAL QUESTION SHEETS <i>continued</i>		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive		
Form: "X" is related to "Y" Example: Getting my GED is an experience associated with Windham School		
DOMAIN: Statements Related to Experiences Associated with Windham School District		
Question: What are some statements made about the Windham School experience?		
Included Terms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
They let me helped with curriculum		One day they brought in the milk, the espresso, and the teacher showed us cons how to make cappuccino
We remodeled the school at Darrington		The school was a safe place
I put in a new floor in the school		The school was not part of the prison life
We painted the school		When we were in the school we were treated special
The school was located separate from the rest of the unit		We were treated like students—not like convicts
Great principals, n great counselors, n teachers that cared		The thing that saved me was Windham... It started me thinking "why am I here?"
I got my GED through Windham while I was inside		I took over the newspaper at Darrington

Which of the above terms would you use in considering "ways to help prevent relapse and recidivism?"
 Checkmark for YES Are there any terms or ideas you would like to add or change?

APPENDIX D
SUMMARY SHEETS

APPENDIX D: SUMMARY SHEETS		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3					
Tally Sheet #1							
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *							
Domain: Statements Attributed to Policy Change with the Initiative							
Included Terms		1	2	3	Included Terms		
Going from treatment base to correction based program		X	X	X	now near 1 million under supervision in Texas		X X X
the initiative started under TCADA and went to TDCJ		X	X	X	300 and some thousand with a substance abuse problem		X X X
It wasn't about treatment with Bush		X	X	X	I really don't know where the initiative is going to go		X X X
Faced with dilemma--reduce treatment Beds		X	X	X	This governor say we gonna lock you up n throw away the key		X X X
Ann Richards started the initiative with a vision		X	X	X	Chronically addicted lower income offenders were a priority		X X X
Now you just go to treatment - do this here and that's it		X	X	X	SAFP changed to 45% white middle income		X X X
White middle class hire lawyers to cut deals with DA		X	X	X	Now it's same old story. its how much justice can you afford?		X X X
Cultural diversity with treatment now, is not as balanced as it was when It first started		X	X	X	African Americans decreased because they didn't have money to face prosecution		X X X

REMARKS: Proper legal assistance for African Americans when facing prosecution – Wyatt

Tally Sheet #3		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3				
Semantic Relationship: Contingency						
Form "X" is a source of "Y"						
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *						
DOMAIN: Means to "Making It" on the outside						
Included Term	1	2	3	1	2	3
Parolee/Addict driven program	X	X	X	"staying connected"	X	X X
12-Step program structure	X	X	X	Positive alternative to criminal thinking	X	X X
Community-oriented service	X	X	X	The Winner's Circle	X	X X
"External tools"	X	X	X	Prayer	X	X X
Ways to gain self esteem	X	X	X	"Making amends"	X	X X
Sponsor support	X	X	X	Get plugged into spiritual people	X	X X
Anger management	X	X	X	Get plugged into sober people	X	X X
Avoid Risky Behaviors	X	X	NO	Avoid users and drunks	X	X NO

COMMENTS: Stay away from Dopers, drunks, and criminals. Don't go home! – Doc
 You can not avoid risky behaviors. You have to know how to avoid the traps – Dutch
 Staying sober – Dutch

Tally Sheet #4				Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3			
Semantic Relationship: Contingency							
Form: X contributes to Y							
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *							
DOMAIN: Conditions contributing to "drinkin n druggin."							
Included Terms	1	2	3	1	2	3	
Low self esteem	X	X	X				To hide feelings X X X
Poor self concept	X	X	X				To not feel X X X
Peer pressure	X	X	X				Violence & abuse X X X
Relief	X	X	X				No structure X X X
Power over others	X	X	X				Dysfunctional family X X X
Superior feeling	X	X	X				Family involved in crime X X X
because your face is below the dirt	X	X	X				Family members abuse drugs X X X
Alcoholism in family	X	X	X				No goals X X X

COMMENTS: Dishonesty and laziness – Dutch

No structure is a big issue – Wyatt

Tally Sheet #5		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3	
Semantic Relationship: Attributive			
Form: "X" is characteristic of "Y"			
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *			
DOMAIN: Characteristics of "The Program"			
Included Terms			
Staying positive and getting the job done	X X X	Maintaining a spiritual life	X X X
The support network is a phone call away	X X X	Avoiding the traps and risky behaviors	X X ***
Me saying "it can not fail"	X X *	I got the fastest 911 fingers in the west an the dopers all know it	X X NO
"God, the program, me, my wife, my job"	X X NO*	Accepting that I have a higher power	X X X
It has all the keys we need	X X X	Admitting that I am the problem	X X X
Me making my meetings	X X X	Taking control of my life	X X X
Me meeting with my sponsor	X X X	The every day decision I will not take drugs. I will not turn a crime	X X X
Power and affirmation of the group	X X **	"I feel good when I help others away from a life of drugs"	X X X

COMMENTS: *- If #1 there's self responsible - Dutch

NO*- God-Sobriety-Self & others – Dutch

** - Power is in the power of the group – Dutch

*** - Gain solutions to traps to avoid – Dutch

Tally Sheet #7		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3	
Semantic Relationship: Attributive Sequence			
Example: getting to aftercare is a stage of recovery and parole			
Form: "X" is a stage related to "Y"			
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *			
DOMAIN: Stages Related to Recovery and Parole			
Included Terms		Included Terms	
Going through TDCJ Intake	X X X	Going through IPTC General Orientation	X X X
Taking the diagnostics test Battery	X X X	Going through IPTC Main Treatment	X X X
Going through screening	X X X	Cadre	X X X
Taking the ASI – Addiction Severity Index	X X *	Graduation and completing the IPTC Program	X X X
"doing your time on the unit"	X X X	Treatment providers picking you up at the IPTC unit	X X X
Serving till Pre-Release program	X X X	Parole officer signing your papers at the IPTC unit	X X X
Busing you to Kyle from the unit	X X X	Getting bussed to a half-way house in the city of your choice	X X X
Start serving in 9 month IPTC Pre-Release	X X X	Starting a 90 day half-way house aftercare program	X X X

COMMENTS: * I took the SASI test before entering the program at Amarillo – Dutch.

Tally Sheet #9				Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3			
Semantic Relationship: Sequence							
Example: “first step” is a stage in success in recovery at SAFP							
Form: “X” is a stage in “Y”							
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *							
DOMAIN: Stages of success in recovery at SAFP							
Included Terms	1	2	3		1	2	3
A 45 day Phase 1 Orientation	X	X	NA		Learning risks and effects of STD & HIV in phase 2	X	X NA
Learning rules, tools philosophy in Orientation	X	X			Selecting 12 step, Winner’s Circle, SOS in phase 2	X	X
Learning conflict resolution in Orientation	X	X			Pass phase 2 test to transition to phase 3	X	X
A 60-90 day CD education in phase 2	X	X			A 60-90 day relapse prevention program in phase 3	X	X
Learning what CD does to body & brain in phase 2	X	X			Life skill education in phase 3	X	X
Learning cognitive thinking skills in phase 2	X	X			Learning to access feelings & emotions in phase 3	X	X
Learning the basic disease concept in phase 2	X	X			To find post SAFP 12 step support in phase 3	X	X
Learning the stages of disease in phase 2	X	X			SAFP coordinator gives OK & get discharged to aftercare	X	X

COMMENTS: From what I've read and from what my clients told me, it's what I know of SAFF cause I went through IPTC – Doc. Friends that work in SAFF tell me about it and it is a lot like IPTC but it isn't a prerelease program like IPTC – Wyatt. I don't think I can comment because my experience is with IPTC – Dutch.

Tally Sheet #10		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3				
Semantic Relationship: Rationale						
Example: "Non-cooperation earns extended time in a TC."						
Form: Rationale: "X" is a reason for "Y"						
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *						
DOMAIN: Reasons for getting extended time in a TC						
Included Terms	1	2	3		1	2 3
Doing a "TDC cases"	X	X	X	Breaking a cardinal rule	X	X X
Fighting	NO	NO	NO	Failing examination before transition team	X	X X
Stealing	NO	NO	NO	A poor showing at your discharge meeting	X	X X
Non-participation	X	X	X	To show poor attitude	X	X X
Failing a test	X	X	X	Letting our mouths overload our butts	X	X X
Pulling a poor evaluation by the staff	X	X	X			
Get bad evaluation by your SAFP CO	X	X	X			
Poor evaluation by your trial judge	X	X	X			

COMMENTS: NO-You get sent back to the unit for fighting or stealing. – Doc

NO-You are sent back – Wyatt.

NO-You steal, you fight, you go – Dutch.

Tally Sheet #11		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3				
Semantic Relationship Form: Attributive						
Example: Lunch is a Daily Activity at Therapeutic Treatment Center						
Form: "X is a daily routine at "Y"						
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *						
DOMAIN: Routine Daily Activities at a Therapeutic Treatment Center						
Included Terms	1	2	3	Included Terms	1	2 3
Feet on the floor at four for kitchen crew	X	X	X	NOON – Lunch	X	X X
Wake up at six	X	X	X	1:00-2:30 pm Life Skills or Orientation	X	X X
6:00-7:00 am Breakfast	X	X	X	Get Recreation or Creative Energy from 2:30-4:30	X	X X
30 minute AMD	X	X	X	5:00 Dinner	X	X X
7:30-9:00 am Do your work detail	X	X	X	Going to Relapse prevention or Encounter group	X	X X
9:00-10:30 am Errors in thinking	X	X	X	8:00-9:15 12-step meeting or Peer support	X	X X
10:00 am Brunch	X	X	X	PMD from 9:15-9:45	X	X X
Thirty minutes of G.I.	X	X	X	Securing your area and G.I from 9:45 to 10:00	X	X X
11:00-12:00 pm Sober living or Relapse Prevention	X	X	X	Quiet time and lights out form 10:00-11:00 pm	X	X X
All time planned and regulated – "nothin wasted"	X	X	X	1:00 am Lights Out	X	X X

COMMENTS:

Tally Sheet #12					Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3					
Semantic Relationship: Attributive										
Example: Getting Recognition is a Residential Treatment Center.										
Form: "X" is a reward in a "Y"										
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *										
DOMAIN: Rewards in a Residential Therapeutic Treatment Center										
Included Terms	1	2	3	1	2	3				
Getting a structure letter	X	X	X				Assist counselors with presentations	X	X	X
Getting recognition at a group meeting	X	X	X				Helping run programs	X	X	X
Getting group affirmation	X	X	X				Getting to tell your story to community or school groups	X	X	X
Be chosen go present lecture topic	X	X	X				Gaining more responsibilities	X	X	X
Gain work promotion to Expediter	X	X	X				Gaining snack privileges	X	X	X
Gain work promotion to Coordinator	X	X	X				A smoke or coffee break	X	X	X
Gain work promotion to Assistant Senior Coordinator	X	X	X							
Gain work promotion to Senior Coordinator										

COMMENTS:

Example: Possession of a firearm is a heavier charge that gets a drug charge thrown out

Tally Sheet #13			Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3		
Semantic Relationship: Cause-Effect					
Example: Getting Charged with Illegal Firearms Possession Gets the Lesser Drug Charge Dropped					
Form: "X" is a result of "Y"					
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *					
DOMAIN: Heavier charges that gets a drug charge thrown out					
Included Terms	1	2	3	1	2 3
Get busted for assault	X	X	X	X	X X
Get busted for firearms possession	X	X	X	X	X X X
Armed robbery	X	X	X	X	X X X
Burglary/theft	X	X	?	X	X X X
Sex assault	X	X	X	X	X X X
Unauthorized use of a motor vehicle	X	X	X	X	X X X
Indecency with a child	X	X	X	X	X X X
COMMENTS: The DA will definitely drop dope for firearms – Dutch.					

Tally Sheet #14		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive				
Example: Providing Emotional Support is a Function of the Winner's Circle				
Form: "X" is a function of "Y"				
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *				
DOMAIN: Functions of the Winner's Circle				
Included Terms	1	2	3	1 2 3
Peer support network	X	X	X	X X X
A Sponsor - Network to help others	X	X	X	X X X
Help find jobs	NO	NO	NO	X X X
Help get auto loans	NO	NO	NO	X X X
Change behavior	X	X	X	X X X
Provide role models	X	X	X	X X X
Helping you deal with your record	X	X	X	X X X
Help identify with others with similar experience	X	X	X	X X X
COMMENTS: I never heard of anyone getting a loan through the Winner's Circle – Wyatt. Support for jobs, yes. Help find jobs, no – Dutch				

Tally Sheet #16				Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3			
Semantic Relationship: Cause-Effect							
Example: Stopping going to meetings leads to relapse							
Form: "X" is a cause of "Y"							
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *							
Domain: Set-ups and choosing to relapse and/or turn a crime							
Included Terms		1	2	3	1	2	3
It's not that they got pulled down—they jumped into that hole		X	X	X	Not makin parole meetings X X X		
Make money your higher power		X	X	X	Associate with the wrong people X X X		
Make a woman your higher power		X	X	X	Stop going to group X X X		
Pink n green		X	X	X	Believe everything's OK and it's over X X X		
They screw themselves		X	X	X	Isolating from friends and family X X X		
Having no survival tools		X	X	X	Isolation leads to old behaviors and relations X X X		
No will		X	X	X	Old behaviors lead to relapse a & recidivism X X X		
Stop going to meetings		X	X	XXX	Loss of structure & accountability X X XXX		
Turn from spiritual growth		X	X	X	No one's gonna call them on their shit X X X		
Have poor communication skills		X	X	X	Poor coping skills X X X		
Thinking they're smarter than the guards, the cops, the system		X	X	X	Domino effect--if you stop doing one thing, you'll stop doing the rest X X X		
COMMENTS: Predatory behavior - Doc							

Tally Sheet #17		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3		
Semantic Relationship: Cause/Effect				
Example: Association with known felons works against “Y”				
Form: "X" that work against "Y"				
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *				
DOMAIN: Statements about factors that work against recovery and parole				
Included Terms	1	2	3	
If you're dual diagnosis, you don't have much of a chance	X	?	?	
If you're dual diagnosis, you can't get the money for your meds.	X	?	?	
If ya don't have money for transportation	X	?	?	
If you're disabled, you're screwed	X	?	?	
A lot of them are not that damn smart	X	?	?	
Hard to find a job	X	X	X	
Hard to find Housing	X	X	X	
Because you can't legally rent	X	XX	X	

COMMENTS: Apartment rental laws. Jobs. Question a lot of this – Wyatt
If you need free transportation, you get free rides. There's Merto. – Dutch .

Tally Sheet #18		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3		
Semantic: Relationship: Attributive				
Example: Saving your health is an attribute of sobriety				
Form: "X" is an characteristic of "Y"				
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *				
DOMAIN: Characteristics of sobriety				
Included Terms	1	2	3	1 2 3
Make good decisions when you aren't high on drugs	X	X	X	Gained through treatment X X X
Gained through 12-step programs	X	X	X	Maintained through the program X X X
You don't use, you don't go back	X	X	???	Had bread a new man X X X
Getting days, weeks, months, years of continuous sobriety	X	X	X	Money didn't buy what I have X X X
Setting that pattern into habitual effect	X	X	X	Everything I have internally is free X X X
Learn to use external brakes	X	X	X	I wouldn't trade it for nothing in the world X X X
Develop cognitive thinking so your emotions aren't like a yoyo	X	X	X	

COMMENTS: ??? I tell my clients that they may not use and they still may go back – Dutch.
My worst day today – is a million times better than my best day using – Dutch.

Tally Sheet #19		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive				
Example Listening to people tell their story is one of the first experiences in IPTC Treatment				
Form: "X" is a first experience in a "Y"				
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *				
DOMAIN: First Experiences in IPTC Treatment				
Included Terms	1	2	3	1 2 3
Treatment was scary	X	X	X	I was the source of my problem and only I can change X X X
People confronted me about what I did	X	X	X	Change came that I didn't want to do drugs or commit a crime X X X
People confronted me about my drugs and my crimes	X	X	X	At first I wanted them to send me back X X X
I was angry at all of them and it didn't matter.	X	X	X	The people had been right in the place where I was right the X X X
People sayin they're there for me, talking about new & better lives	X	X	X	They were there as a free gift – that's when a change came. X X X
Thinking all this recovery was bullshit!	X	X	X	
COMMENTS:				

Tally Sheet #20		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3		
Semantic Relationship: Attributive				
Example: "Starting more IPTC treatment centers" is a political policy statement about treatment				
Form: "X" is a statement about "Y"				
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *				
DOMAIN: Statements about Political Policy and Treatment				
Included Terms	1	2	3	1 2 3
Ann Richards had a vision I believe she built it. She drove it	X	X	X	X X X
Ya know, the first words out of her mouth was? "Hi, I'm Ann and I'm an alcoholic.	X	X	X	X X X
She supported it and contributed to it	X	X	X	X X X
She introduced it from New York to the Amarillo Program	X	X	X	X X X
And Ann Richards came to visit and man, did that ever raise our spirits	X	X	X	X X X
She visited us at Amarillo. She could leave the whole state of Texas and come and visit 500 inmates	X	X	X	X X X
COMMENTS				

COMMENTS

Tally Sheet #21		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3			
Semantic Relationship: Attributive					
Example: "I took Accounting 101" is a higher education experience of IPTC & SAFF grads					
Form: "X" is higher education experience of "Y"					
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *					
DOMAIN: Higher Education Experiences of IPTC or SAFF Grads					
Included Terms	1	2	3	1	2 3
I loved it!	X	X	X	Planning on getting my masters	X NO NO
I attended Houston Community College	X	X	NO	Dr. Blair hired me as her student assistant.	X NO NO
I did my LCDC through Amarillo Community College	NO	NO	X	Dr. Blair and HCC was a great experience	X NO NO
I took Community college courses at Alvin Community College	X	X	NO	Finished my A.S. at Houston Community College	X NO NO
Working on my B.S. degree	X	NO	NO	TCADA certification	X X X
I worked on my first 2 yrs of college at Alvin Community College while I was inside and Houston C. C when I got out.	X	NO	NO	Houston Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse Workshops and continuing Education	X X X
That really meant something to me... that HCC + Dr. Blair would hire me, an x-con, for a position with the college.	X	NO	NO	I took American History and Religion through Amarillo Community College	NO NO X
Naydean Blair offered LCDC classes at HCC	X	NO	NO		
COMMENTS:					

Tally Sheet #22		Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3	
Semantic Relationship: Attributive			
Example: Getting True Friends is a Way to Prevent Relapse			
Form: "X" is a way to "Y"			
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *			
DOMAIN: Ways to help prevent relapse and recidivism			
Included Terms			
Double up on your meetings	X	X	X
Double up on your prayers	X	X	X
Get true friends	X	X	X
Calling my sponsor	X	X	X
Avoid risky behaviors	X	X	X
Make your parole meetings	X	X	X
Work with Winner's Circle	X	X	X
Stay connected – Don't isolate.	X	X	X
COMMENTS: Get the state to recognize it – Wyatt.			

Tally Sheet #23				Doc =1, Wyatt = 2, Dutch = 3						
Semantic Relationship: Attributive										
Example: Will to choose is important in treatment										
Form: "X is an internal issues in Y"										
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *										
DOMAIN: Statements about the inside issue of treatment										
Included Terms		1	2	3	1	2	3			
It's not so much the TC,		NO	X	X	It's not so much the bedding was there.			NO	X	X
Bottom line is what good will it do me in 5 years 10 years to be in a prison cell or dead		X	X	X	All that matters is doing the next right thing because It's the next right thing to do			X	X	X
It's what each individual does with it		X	X	X	There's somthin wrong with out thinkin.			X	X	X
You can go to Betty Ford with a dope problem n the next day start drinkin		X	X	X	We need to correct our thinkin patterns			X	X	X
It's a matter of what we did with it		X	X	X	It's all an inside job -			NO	?	X
There's a million different reasons to relapse,		X	X	X	It's not so much that the facility was there			NO	X	X
		Sometimes it takes external motivation to motivate somebody						X	X	X
		---cause if we had it inside, what the hell are we doin here anyway?								

COMMENTS: T/C saved my life. I had to have T/C! – Doc.

Tally Sheet #24						
Semantic Relationship: Attributive						
Example: Getting my GED is an experience associated with Windham School						
Form: "X" is related to "Y"						
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *						
DOMAIN: Statements Related to Experiences associated with Windham School						
Included Terms	1	2	3	1	2	3
They let me helped with curriculum	X	NA	NA	I took over the newspaper at Darrington	X	NA NA
We remodeled the school at Darrington	X	NA	NA	One day they brought in the milk, the espresso, and the teacher showed us cons how to make cappuccino	X	NA NA
I put in a new floor in the school	X	NA	NA	The school was a safe place	X	X X
We painted the school	X	NA	NA	The school was not part of the prison Life	X	X X
The school was located separate from the rest of the unit	X	X	X	When we were in the school we were treated special	X	X X
Great principals, n great counselors, n teachers that cared	X	X	X	We were treated like students —not like Convicts	X	X X
The thing that saved me was Windham ...It started me thinking "why am I here?"	X	X	X	I got my GED through Windham while I was inside	X	X X
COMMENTS: During the trouble at Darrington in the 1980s I stayed out of trouble by working in poultry and pork production and by going for my GED at Windham – Wyatt.						

Tally Sheet #25			
Semantic Relationship: Metaphor			
Example: Wit Writer is a jailhouse lawyer			
Form: X is a term for Y			
KEY: POSITIVE = X NEGATIVE = NO NOT APPLICABLE = NA COMMENT = *			
DOMAIN: Metaphors Used Among the Prison and Drug Using Population			
Included Terms	1	2	3
Writ Writers	X	X	X
Selling Wolf Passes	X	X	X
Selling a hog	X	X	X
Speed whores	X	X	X
Buying Wolf Passes	X	X	X
COMMENTS:			

VITA

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EDUCATION

- | | |
|------|--|
| 2003 | Doctor of Philosophy, Educational Human Resource Development
Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas |
| 1993 | Master of Arts, History,
Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas |
| 1980 | Master of Arts, Theology,
Earlham School of Religion, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana |
| 1974 | Bachelor of Science, Social Science, Secondary Education,
Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana |

EMPLOYMENT

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1998-2003 | Aldine Independent School District, Houston, Texas
Teacher: Secondary Education, Social Studies, United States History
Teacher: Nimitz Ninth Grade Center, Career and Technology Education
Chairperson, Career and Technology Steering Committee |
| 1994-1998 | Houston Community College System, Houston, Texas
Student Recruitment Specialist
Representative to Houston-Galveston Area Council
Business Liaison, Workforce Development
Director of Houston Focus Group
Member of Spring Branch ADA Transition Committee |
| 1994-1995 | Cypress Fairbanks Independent School District, Houston, Texas
Teacher: Secondary Education, Alternative Learning Center |
| 1982-1993 | Klein Independent School District, Spring, Texas |
| 1984-Present | Houston Community College System
Adjunct Instructor, United States History
Adjunct Instructor, History of Western Civilization |
| 1987-Present | North Harris Montgomery Community College District, Houston, Texas
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